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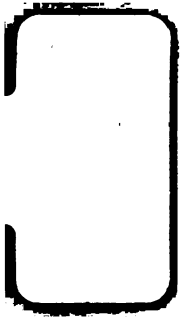

AN

INTRODUCTION TO

AND AN

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

BY

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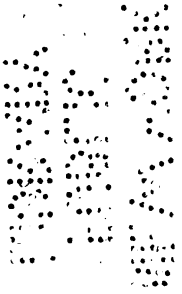
VOL. III.

Dublin:

PRINTED BY H. FITZPATRICK, 4, CAPEL-STREET.

1803.



THE

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Laoghaire elected emperor—successfully invades Britain—attacks the Lagenians; is defeated and taken prisoner—released on conditions which he refuses to observe—new settlements of the Heberians in Leinster—of the religion of the Druids, and its effects on the morals of the people—the first introduction of Christianity into Ireland, not from Rome, but Asia or Africa—the flourishing state of the Irish church before the landing of Patrick.

IMMEDIATELY after the interment of Daithi, the estates were convened to elect a successor; and Laoghaire, son to the renowned hero Niall, and governor of Tara in his father's reign, was unanimously called to the monarchy. Acting under the late emperor Daithi, the present prince, in conjunction with the Saxons and Armoricans, or maritime states of the continent; to wit, the people of Flanders, Picardy, Normandy, and Brittany, had the honour of displaying the banners of Ireland, and proclaiming liberty, even at the foot of A. C. 428

A. C. the Alps; and as ſoon as he had ſettled the internal police of his country, he now prepared for new expeditions, in concert with the ancient national allies.

About this time Clodion was called to the government of Gaul. He was called Chevelu, as being the firſt prince of the ancient race of kings, who for above four centuries wore his hair in long ringlets round the back *. For it is worthy notice, that the Gauls under the Roman government, were obliged to have their hair cut ſhort, probably, as a mark of ſubjection; or perhaps becauſe the Romans deemed it as a mark of effeminacy; whereas the other free ſtates had it flowing down the back in curls. The Iriſh in particular, as we have already obſerved, were ſo fond of this ornament, that no ſoldier or officer durſt appear without it; nay, its loſs was a mark of the higheſt contempt, and an indignity to be offered only to ſlaves. But to return
430 from this digreſſion—Laoghaire, with a potent army invades Britain, and again are the walls and mounds of earth levelled to the ground, and again they experience all the miſeries of a defenceleſs people, expoſed to the outrages of a cruel and exaſperated enemy! At length, united by deſpair, the Britons make head againſt theſe invaders, and gain ſome advantages over their detached parties; yet by a large tribute only, are they enabled to extricate themſelves, from theſe unſeaſonable viſitors for the preſent.

Fluſhed by this ſucceſs, the monarch raiſed new troops, determined to compel the Lagenians to pay their uſual tribute, which it ſeems they had refuſed; but
431 Criomhthan, the ſon of Eana Cincelach, was too good a politician not to be ſenſible, that ſuch refuſal muſt neceſſarily draw on him the indignation of the monarch, and therefore wiſely prepared for the worſt. He applies

* Mezeray Hiſtoire de France, tom. i. p. 10.

to

to Nafraoich, the ſon of Core, of the Eugenian line, at this time king of Leath-Mogha, for his ſupport; and enters into particular treaty with Luig-Dealbhoidh, the ſon of Cas, who was an excellent commander, and always kept a body of ſelect troops in his pay. In the mean time Laoghaire enters Leinſter; but Criomhthan avoided a general action, until the arrival of his auxiliaries. As ſoon as theſe joined him, he bid defiance to the monarch, and by mutual agreement both armies met at Atha-Dara, in the county of Kildare. The battle, as uſual on all theſe occaſions, was fierce and bloody, and well fought on both ſides; but the ſuperior diſcipline of the Mamonians at length prevailed, and the Imperialiſts gave way on every ſide. In this general rout Laoghaire was taken priſoner, and purchaſed his liberty by ſwearing to exonerate the province of Leinſter, from all future demands of tribute; and which he did in the moſt public manner, "invoking the ſun, moon, and ſtars," as witneſſes to this compact. A. C.

Criomhthan, as a reward for the great ſervices of Luig, gave him large eſtates in Leinſter, which from his ſurname were called the Dealbhnas. Delvin-more, in Meath, was the patrimony of the O'Finallans, of this race, until diſpoſſeſſed by Hugo de Lacy, in the latter end of the twelfth century, who conferred it on Gilbert de Nugent, whoſe poſterity became barons of Delvin, and afterwards earls of Weſt Meath. Delvin, or Dealbhna-beg, in the ſame county, was the lordſhip of the O'Mael-Challains, of the line of Heber, Dealbhna-Tean-mol, was the property of the O'Scoluighs, or Scullys; and Dealbhna-Eathra, in the preſent King's County, was the territory of O'Coghlin, or Mac Coghlan, (for I find it wrote in old MSS. both ways) and which lordſhip, or at leaſt a conſiderable part, is ſtill preſerved in that illuſtrious line. The preſent O'Coghlin was a member in the laſt parliament.

A. C. Scarce had Laoghaire recovered his liberty, when he exclaimed and proteſted againſt all proceedings and promiſes made during his captivity. The Druids abſolved him from his oath, and he prepared again to aſſert the rights of his anceſtors, by force of arms, over the Lagenians. He likewiſe made ſome freſh invaſions on South Britain; but our hiſtorians in this reign were ſo taken up with religious affairs, that they have ſcarce attended to any other matters, leaving us in the dark, as to the events of theſe laſt preparations. Indeed, the introduction and eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, is ſo cloſely connected with the hiſtory of the nations in which it prevailed, that it neceſſarily becomes a part of ſuch works. The remarkable effect it had on the manners and purſuits of the Iriſh, deſerves to be particularly adverted to.

Never was a ſyſtem of religion better calculated to ſtir up the ſoul to noble actions, than that which prevailed amongſt the Celtic and Scythian nations of Europe, previous to the introduction of Chriſtianity. It ſeemed even to require longer and ſeverer trials of probation, than the new doctrine; for though the immortality of the ſoul was univerſally believed by them, yet they never allowed repoſe to it. They taught that it muſt paſs from body to body, until by a ſeries of ages, and actions of the brighteſt dye, it became a pure emanation from the Deity, purged from all terreſtrial vices, and worthy to be returned from whence it came. Was a man addicted to gluttony, the ſoul after his deceaſe was judged to animate a hog, or ſome ſuch unclean creature. The vices in one animation were puniſhed after death, by that ſoul's being transfuſed into ſome quadrupede moſt remarkable for ſuch depravity. The ſouls of the brave, the generous, and the humane, after death, were revived in other bodies, ſtill more noble and pure! In time they became pure aerial ſpirits; and from

from thence aſcended to the Cælum Æmpyreum. Py- A. C.
thagoras * boaſted that he remembered his animating the bodies of Aethalides, Euphorbus, Hermotimus and Pyrrhus, and related the different accidents that happened to him in each perſonage. It is true, he tells us, the reaſon why he particularly poſſeſſed this power of recollection after death, not granted to others, that in the perſon of Aethalides, who was ſuppoſed the ſon of Mercury, he begged of that god to be enabled to remember after death, whatever paſſed in the different bodies he animated. Thus Ovid relates the tale:

" Morte carent animæ: ſemperque, priore relictâ,
" Sede, novis domibus habitant, vivuntque receptæ.
" Ipſe ego (*nam memini*) Trojani tempore belli
" Panthoïdes Euphorbus eram: cui pectore quondam
" Sedit in Adverſo gravis haſta minoris Atridæ.
" Cognovi clypeum, lævæ geſtamina noſtræ
" Nuper Abanteis, templo Junonis, in Argis †."

Nor are we, *even at this day*, deſtitute of Druid tales to the ſame import. Fiontan, ſay our old legendary tales, came to Ireland before the flood, with his wife Ceaſair. They ſhared the ſame fate with the reſt of the antediluvian world, except Noah and his children. He animated a new body after the flood, and lived for a conſiderable time. He related, that at the building the ark, he with his wife's father Bith, applied to Noah, for room for his family, but which was refuſed him. They conſulted an oracle, and were adviſed to build ſuch a machine as Noah was about; to ſtore it with proviſions, and when the rain began to cover the country, to enter it, and commit themſelves to the mercy of the winds and waves—" incerti quo fata ferunt." They did

* Diogen. Laertius, lib. viii. † Metamorph. lib. xv.

ſo,

A. C. ſo, and were thrown on the Iriſh coaſts. Here, after ſome time, they all died; but Fiontan, like Pythagoras, being endowed with the ſpirit of recollection after death, on re-animating a new body, related this wonderful tale, which is all the authority we have for our antediluvian hiſtory! However, this tale proves ſufficiently, that the early Iriſh Druids were well acquainted with the hiſtory of the Jews, long before the incarnation; and that they wanted neither boldneſs nor invention, where the honour of their religion or the antiquity of their country were the objects. It is recorded in the Pſalter of Caſhill, in the reign of Fiacha Muilleathan, that the Druid Modharuith, (who, for finding out the means of ſupplying his army with water in a time of great ſcarcity, was granted lands in the county of Cork, afterwards the lordſhips of O'Keefe, and now called Roche's country, about A. C. 260) boaſted to this prince that he remembered the reigns of nineteen monarchs of Ireland. Caoilte Mac Roan is ſaid to have lived (or rather to have animated different bodies) many hundred years before the days of St. Patrick, and to have given to this apoſtle ſeveral curious anecdotes of the country, and of its ancient inhabitants and religion, little known to the public. The dialogue between St. Patrick and Oiſin, ſtill preſerved, in which a minute relation is given of the bloody battle of Gabhra, and of the heroes that fell on both ſides, is another proof of this. The author aſſerted, that he was Oiſin, the eldeſt ſon of the famous Fion Mac Cumhal; though this battle was fought A. C. 296, at which time Oiſin muſt have been advanced in years, his ſon Oſgur being then general of the Fionne Eirion, or Leinſter cohorts!

But though the immortality and tranſmigration of the ſoul were, as we have ſeen, conſtantly inculcated by the Druids, yet their doctrines and tenets were calculated, in general, rather to inflame than ſuppreſs the paſſions.

Thus,

Thus, the love of glory, ambition, and revenge were A. C.
the chief themes of the bards and ſenachies. None were ſpoke reſpectfully of in our annals, or celebrated by the bards, but ſuch as indulged theſe paſſions to the higheſt degree. Lucan *, who ſeemed well acquainted with their tenets, tells us, that the chief employ of the bards was to celebrate the atchievements of thoſe who fell in battle; and, to confirm this, we have already obſerved, that in the midſt of ſlaughter the bards attended the fight, to animate their patrons by their verſe; to remind them of the atchievements of their anceſtors, and the diſgrace they muſt entail on their poſterity, ſhould they fall ſhort of ſuch glorious patterns! Thus Lucan—

" Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptos,
" Laudibus in longum vates, dimittitis ævum,
" Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina bardi."

The Chriſtian religion pointing the road to ſalvation, by doctrines totally oppoſite to theſe of the Druids, we muſt ſuppoſe produced a ſenſible alteration, in the conduct of its votaries; and it did ſo. At a very early period was Chriſtianity preached in Ireland. The conſtant enmity between this country and ancient Rome, prevented any kind of friendly intercourſe. This doctrine came not immediately from thence here, but from the churches of Aſia; and this explains what Tertullian notes—" Britannorum inacceſſa Romanis loca, *Chriſto* " *verò ſubdita.*" Manſuetus, an Iriſhman, the firſt biſhop and patron of Toul, and canonized by Leo IX. is ſaid to have been a diſciple of St. Peter †. St. James, the ſon of Zebedee, it is affirmed, alſo preached the

* Pharſal. lib. i.

† Uſſer. Primord. p. 747, 8. Bruodin. p. 879, &c.

goſpel

A. C. goſpel in Ireland *. To me it would ſeem that Manſuetus and the other early Iriſh Chriſtians, were rather the diſciples of St. John the evangeliſt; and I ground my opinion on what the Venerable Bede relates, with regard to the famous controverſy about the celebration of Eaſter †. He tells us, that in defence of the Iriſh time of celebrating this feaſt, in oppoſition to that of Rome, Colman, the Iriſh biſhop of Lindisfarn, among other reaſons declared, "that he had received it from his "fore-fathers, who ſent him to Northumberland as their "biſhop; and that it was the ſame cuſtom which St. "John, Chriſt's eſpecially-beloved diſciple, with all the "churches under him, obſerved." In the reign of Con, in the ſecond century, Ireland ſent forth the famous St. Cathaldus ‡ to preach the doctrine of Chriſt; and he became biſhop and patron of Tarentum, in Italy. In ſo flouriſhing a ſtate was Chriſtianity ſoon after, that in the next age Cormoc, as great a legiſlator and as wiſe a prince as any nation produced, became before his death a Chriſtian, and died in that faith, as we have obſerved already; ſoon after which it is expreſsly ſaid in the Catha-Gabhra, that the Iriſh general Fion, went to Rome. In the next reign, we read of an Iriſh biſhop's ſuffering martyrdom in Britain; and it is evident by the poem of Torna Eigis, chief bard to Niall the Grand, beginning with—"Dail Catha, idir Core, and Niall," that he himſelf was a Chriſtian; and Colgan offers his reaſons § for thinking his maſter one alſo.

* Uſſer. p. 5. † Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 25.
‡ Bruodin. p. 879. Vitâ St. Cataldi, &c.
§ Trias Thaumat. p. 175, N. 28.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. II.

Churches and ſchools founded, and biſhops eſtabliſhed, before the arrival of St. Patrick—Pope Celeſtin ſends Palladius to Ireland—a paſſage in Proſper on this embaſſy, explained and defended—is ſucceeded by St. Patrick—his manner of conducting the miſſion—the number of biſhops conſecrated by him, accounted for—is appointed one of the committee to examine the national records—remarks upon it.

THE preceding chapter has ſhewn the flouriſhing ſtate of Chriſtianity in Ireland, before the days of St. Patrick; and if what is generally taken for granted be true, i. e. "that the more poliſhed nations were, the ſpeedier this "doctrine ſpread itſelf among them"—we muſt rank this country amongſt the moſt civilized ſtates of Europe; and what Cambrenſis meant as an inſult, the higheſt encomium on the people; for he upbraided the archbiſhop of Caſhill, for that, amongſt the numbers of ſaints and confeſſors which Ireland boaſted, they could not produce one martyr *. But perſecution and death for religious tenets, was never the practice of truly poliſhed people.

The miſſionaries in the fourth century, not only preached, but founded churches, and opened colleges in Ireland. Amongſt theſe was the holy Dima, whoſe name a church near Adare, in this county (Limeric) ſtill bears. Heber, or Iharus ſoon after founded an academy, at a place called Beg-lire, in Leinſter, where, as Uſher notes †, "he inſtructed very great numbers of "Iriſh as well as foreigners in ſacred and polite letters."

* Topogr. Hib. diſt. iii. cap. 29.

† Uſſer. Primord. p. 801.

Colgan

A. C. Colgan * says, "that people from all parts crowded to "his schools, to be instructed in Christianity and let-"ters." St. Albe, archbishop of Munster, and his contemporary, Usher tells us, after preaching through the whole kingdom, founded his church and schools at Emely. St. Kieran and St. Declan, also preceded Patrick, and founded churches; and when this apostle required their acknowledging him as archbishop of all Ireland, it produced some dissensions, "Ibarus particularly "protesting against giving the supremacy and patronage "of Ireland, to any one but a native."

The zeal and success of the Irish missionaries in Britain, and on the continent, at this time, sufficiently proved to the Roman pontiff, in what a respectable state Christianity must have been in Ireland; and though, as we have already observed, this doctrine was not introduced amongst us by Roman preachers, no more than amongst the early Gauls (else why would these last, in that terrible persecution raised against them, in the latter end of the second century, prefer their complaints and paint their distresses, to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia, rather than to the faithful in Rome †), yet they naturally wished to establish their authority here. To this end, in the year 431, and in the reign of the present emperor Loaghaire, pope Celestin sent Palladius, archdeacon of the Roman church, as archbishop and apostle of Ireland, with twelve Irish missionaries. This is affirmed by the Venerable Bede ‡, who tells us, "*that in* "*the eighth year of the reign of the emperor Theodosius, Pal-*"*ladius was sent by Celestin*, bishop of the Roman church, "to the Scots believing in Christ, to be their FIRST "BISHOP." Prosper §, treating of the mission of Palladius, says, "*that he was ordained by pope Celestin, and sent the*

* Vita St. Abbani. † Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 433.
‡ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 13. § Chron. ad ann. 431.

"FIRST

" FIRST BISHOP, *to the Scots believing in Chriſt.*" The great primate Uſher, whoſe zeal for his country was equal to his erudition, contended that the word Primus, was foiſted into later copies of Proſper; and his reaſon for ſuppoſing this, was leſt it might be thought, that there has not been Chriſtians in Ireland before this period, a point which he ſtrenuouſly contends for *. That there were, cannot be controverted, and yet it does not nevertheleſs leſſen the authorities of Bede and Proſper. The political enmity betwixt Rome and Ireland, cut off all communication between them. The Iriſh received the faith from the early Aſiatic, or African churches; and Palladius was therefore the firſt biſhop ſent from Rome, to eſtabliſh the Roman hierarchy *here*. This becomes more clearly illuſtrated, by what Proſper ſays afterwards, in ſpeaking of Celeſtin—" that having ordained a " biſhop, for the Scots or Iriſh; whilſt he endeavoured " to keep the Roman iſland, i. e. Britain, Catholic, he " made the barbarous iſland, i. e. Ireland, Chriſtian." The evident ſenſe of which is—that whilſt he attended to the care of Britain, which always acknowledged the power of Rome, he forgot not the ſame zeal and concern for Ireland, though it never admitted of Roman juriſdiction. A confeſſion highly honourable to this country, and a farther evidence of the truth of our ancient hiſtory. A. C.

His miſſion was attended with no great ſucceſs; for we muſt ſuppoſe, by the oppoſition given to St. Patrick's miniſtry in the beginning, that the Iriſh were very unwilling to acknowledge ſpiritual ſupremacy in a people, whoſe temporal power they ſo manfully and ſucceſsfully oppoſed. His ſtay was but of a few months in Ireland, during which time he founded three new churches, and then retired to Britain, where he died ſoon after.

* Prim. eccleſ. Brit. p. 798.

On

A. C. On the report of his death at Rome, Celeſtin looked out for a ſucceſſor, and none was judged ſo proper for this arduous taſk as Patrick, who, as we noted in the life of Niall the Grand, had been then taken amongſt other captives, and ſold as a ſlave in Ireland, where he remained for ſeven years. After his redemption, he devoted himſelf to the church, and to the ſublimeſt ſpiritual exerciſes. His knowledge of the country and language, his piety, wiſdom, and meekneſs; but above all, his own ſeeming immediate call from God for this miſſion, conſpired to mark him out for this great undertaking. It is recorded in his life, and affirmed by himſelf, that after his releaſe from captivity, and return to his friends, often reflecting on his future purſuits in life, in a viſion, he ſaw a man coming to him from Ireland with letters, the beginning of which was, *Vox Hibernigenſium;* and that, whilſt peruſing it, he heard the natives call to him for inſtruction. From this time forward he determined for the church, and to convert the Iriſh. His baptiſmal name was Succath; but at the time of his ordination by St. Germain, it was changed to Magonias. After his conſecration, and to add greater weight and dignity to his embaſſy, Celeſtin conferred on him the Patrician order. This was an inſtitution of Conſtantine, the firſt Chriſtian emperor, and more honourable than that of the ancient order; as theſe Patricii ranked next to the emperors, or their declared ſucceſſors. To prove this, we find Charlemagne and other kings of France to have retained the title of Roman Patricians. Patricius was not the real name of our apoſtle, though he afterwards retained it, but the title conferred on him.

It is not my intent to give a minute account of the piety, zeal, and wiſdom of this great apoſtle during his miſſion. His life has been written, and his actions celebrated by ſo many different pens, that the taſk ſeems almoſt

almoſt unneceſſary. I ſhall, however, touch upon ſuch parts as will tend to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the country. When he landed in Ireland, he found the nation replete with holy and learned preachers, and their votaries pious and obedient. It is very probable that Palladius preſumed too much on his miſſion from Rome, and wanted to extort a greater reverence and obedience from the Iriſh clergy than they thought him entitled to. Patrick conducted himſelf quite otherwiſe. He rather gained on them by mildneſs than ſeverity; and we ſee Ibarus, who oppoſed his authority moſt, he inſenſibly gained the aſcendant over, and brought him to be of his party. Having thus eſtabliſhed his authority over the clergy, he conſidered of the moſt effectual methods of ſpreading the new doctrine through the whole kingdom. His principal aim was the converſion of the nobility, in which purſuit he met with great ſucceſs. After traverſing Leinſter and Ulſter for near two years, every where making converts amongſt the great, he determined to attend the national eſtates, ſoon to meet at Tara. The eves of Bel, or May, and of Samhuin, or November, were the two principal feſtivals of the Druids. At each ſeaſon all culinary fires were extinguiſhed, and re-lit by the ſacred fires, kept burning in the temples of Uiſneach and Flachta. It was deemed ſacrilege to have any fire lighted on thoſe days; but from theſe temples Patrick, nevertheleſs, determined to break through this cuſtom, and ſap the very foundation of Druidiſm. On the eve of Bel, he had a very large fire kindled near the temple of Uiſneach. The Druids and their votaries beheld with horror this innovation, and preferred their petition to the monarch. Next day Patrick was ſummoned to appear before the eſtates. A. C.

The ſtate of Loaghaire is on this occaſion compared to that of Nebuchadnezzar on the plains of Dura. The apoſtle appeared, produced his credentials, and defended his

A. C. his doctrine with ſuch forcible arguments, that numbers were converted, and the empreſs of Laoghaire was of the number. This ſtep of Patrick's was certainly a very bold one; but I ſuppoſe he relied on his public character of a Roman patrician, or on the number of friends he had already gained in the council, for his protection. He continued for ſome time after at Tara, in public diſputations with the Druids; and the event proves, with great ſucceſs. From thence he proceeded to Tailtean, where the chiefs of the nation aſſembled every year to attend the famous exhibitions; and here numbers were converted. In a word, ſo great was the ſucceſs of this holy apoſtle, that in a very few years the princes and chief nobility of the kingdom acknowledged the doctrine of Chriſt. Not only this, but ſo great was their zeal, and ſo pure their intentions, that they did not deem it ſufficient to devote the tenth part of their riches, their flocks, and their corn, to God, but beſtowed the tenth ſon on the church! Hence the amazing number of devout recluſes, and holy biſhops, of the pureſt blood of Ireland, whoſe pedigrees have been preſerved with great care; many of whom paſſed over from time to time to Britain and to the continent, to eſtabliſh the doctrine of Chriſt by their precepts and by their examples. It is recorded of Patrick, that during his miſſion in Ireland he conſecrated no leſs than 365 biſhops, and ordained 3000 prieſts, none of whom were received who had not given the cleareſt evidences of an holy and pious life and converſation.

This number of biſhops may ſurpriſe ſome readers, and therefore merits an elucidation. Amongſt the other cauſes of Patrick's great influence on the people, one was, his attention to avoid whatever could alarm the national pride, or alter the eſtabliſhed police of the kingdom. As to the firſt, we find no hint at a foreign ſupremacy during the whole of his miſſion; nor any diſputes

putes whatever about the tonſure, and time of celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter; *though it is moſt certain, that before, during, and for two centuries after his death, the Iriſh church adhered moſt ſtrictly to the Aſiatic churches in theſe modes of diſcipline.* The ſame prudence governed him with reſpect to the internal police of the kingdom; and, provided religion was not materially hurt, he paſſed over ſmall things. In Ireland, all poſts of honour and profit were hereditary in families. The prieſthood amongſt the Iriſh, as with the Jews, was alſo hereditary. Dignitaries amongſt the Druids, and the lands to ſupport them, were the properties of certain families. Not only this, but beſides the preſent poſſeſſor, a coadjutor, who was alſo to ſucceed him, was at the ſame time nominated. Wherever the Chriſtian biſhop was elected to ſucceed the Druid flamen, he alſo had his aſſiſtant and ſucceſſor appointed. It was a wiſe meaſure, as on a demiſe the new paſtor was well acquainted with his flock, and with his own duty. He was called a Comharba, or partner in the church-lands, and ranked as a biſhop. Of this order of men, no leſs than four died in the ſee of Ardmach during the apoſtleſhip of St. Patrick; ſo that he was himſelf the firſt and fifth archbiſhop of that diocefs. And when we reflect on the length of his miſſion, being ſixty-one years, and the number of theſe titular biſhops which muſt neceſſarily be appointed, this great creation of his will neither appear improbable or ſurpriſing. A. C.

Though St. Patrick had been preaching and converting ſouls in other parts of Ireland ſince the year 432, yet he came not to Munſter until 448. Two reaſons are to be aſſigned for this: Firſt, the flouriſhing ſtate of Chriſtianity in this province for a conſiderable time before this period; ſecondly, ſome preliminaries were to be adjuſted between him and St. Albe. At length Aongus, the king, invited Patrick to his court, and, to do him

A. C. him the greater honour, attended by his nobility, his prelates, and clergy, he met him at ſome diſtance from Caſhill. In his ſuite were St. Albe and Declan. A ſynod was ſoon after called, at which the king preſided; and it was decreed, "that St. Albe ſhould rank as a "ſecond Patrick, and patron and archbiſhop of Mun-"ſter; and that St. Declan ſhould be called the Patrick "of the Deaſies, and their chief biſhop. After this "they bleſſed the king; and giving the kiſs of peace, "each returned to his particular charge *." Thus was this difficult affair of precedency ſettled, in which Aongus, as king of Leath-Mogha, was deeply intereſted. That the ſupremacy of Ireland ſhould be fixed in Leath-Cuin, was but juſt, as the monarchs of Ireland were of the Heremonian line; and that the archbiſhops of Munſter ſhould rank next to theſe of Ardmagh, is evident; for in the days of Patrick, the archbiſhop of Ardmagh was generally called archbiſhop of Leath-Cuin, or of Northern Ireland, and the other archbiſhop of Leath-Mogha, or Southern Ireland; ſo that though we ſhould admit Leinſter to be raiſed to an archbiſhoprick by St. Patrick, yet it is evident that it muſt rank after Munſter, becauſe Leinſter was always in the ſouthern diviſion of Ireland, and in a great meaſure dependant on it, as paying tribute to Munſter. For the ſame reaſon Tuam was inferior to Ardmagh. To give my opinion of this matter, the precedency of the Iriſh archbiſhops ſhould be thus: Ardmagh has ever preſerved to itſelf, and with the higheſt juſtice, the primacy of all Ireland; the archbiſhop of Caſhill, or of Munſter, in ſtrictneſs ſhould rank next to him as primate of Ireland, on account of the antiquity of that kingdom, and of its being poſſeſſed by the Heberian, or eldeſt branch of the Mileſian race; and that Leinſter was always looked

* Hanmer's Chronicle, page 35.

upon

upon as an appendix to it. Leinſter ſhould fill the next place on account of its riches, and of its being ruled by Mileſian princes ſome centuries earlier than Conaught. Under theſe archbiſhops were no leſs than 100 biſhops, whoſe names are preſerved in Colgan and Ward *. It is certain that in theſe early days, biſhops were much more numerous than ſince. In the Council of Sardis, A. C. 374, it is decreed that no biſhop ſhall be conſecrated for a village where a preſbyter ſhall anſwer; but a biſhop may be appointed over a city, or to ſuperintend many preſbyters. A. C.

Patrick having eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity, and his own ſupremacy, on the moſt ſolid baſis, nothing of moment was now done without his approbation. He even preſided as chief of the clergy at a public examination of the national records; though it is doubted whether the monarch Laoghaire was himſelf a Chriſtian. A committee conſiſting of three Arch-Druids, three chief antiquaries, and three chief bards, were appointed at Tara, every third year, to examine the national records, to expunge what ſeemed improbable or doubtful, and to tranſcribe into the Seanachas-More, or Great Book of Antiquity, whatever ſeemed moſt worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity. On the preſent occaſion this convention was honoured with the preſence of the monarch, and the kings of Munſter and Ulſter. The biſhops, who now ſucceeded the Druids, were Patrick Benin, and Sairnach; and the antiquarians Dubhthach, the monarch's prime Senachie; Feargus, and Roſa. This remarkable examination of the national records by St. Patrick is placed in the Annals of the Four Maſters, in the year of Chriſt, 438. But this cannot be; for Benignus, one of the aſſiſtant biſhops at this meeting, was then but a youth; nor did the king of Munſter 450

* Trias Thaumat. Vita Sancti Rumoldi, page 158, &c.

A. C. even receive baptiſm until the year 448. So that by placing it in the year 450, as I have done, we fix it about the exact period.

We muſt ſuppoſe, and it is affirmed by the teſtimony of contemporary and ſucceeding writers, that in the preſent examination, the hiſtory and antiquities of the country underwent a very ſevere ſcrutiny; and this alone ſhould entitle them to ſome degree of reſpect, even though they had wanted collateral proofs; which, as we have ſeen, is not the caſe. Such as I have delivered them, were they paſſed and approved of by the preſent committee; and could we ſuppoſe that they received any addition, it muſt be, *that of Patrick's making Phænius, the ſon of Baath, the ſon of Magog, the ſon of Japhet*, in order to reconcile our hiſtory to that of Moſes. For our heathen anceſtors preſerved their annals from the days of this Phænius ONLY; and ſhould we even ſuppoſe theſe predeceſſors, which Patrick gave to him, to be imaginary, yet it was one of thoſe *pious frauds*, innocent in itſelf, and which helped more to reconcile the public to the new doctrine, than to miſlead them. As for thoſe writers who would make the ſon of Phænius and Moſes contemporaries, it is certain they had no authority, from the preſent reform, for ſuch aſſertion. Had this been the caſe, Patrick's diſciple and firſt biographer Fiech, when he mentioned Phænius and Niulus, could not fail of mentioning a circumſtance ſo flattering to the new Chriſtians; but though he had omitted it, his ſcholaſtic, who was a century later, certainly would not. But no ſuch thing: this great apoſtle was too good a ſcholar, and too well verſed in ſound chronology, to attempt ſo glaring an anachroniſm. Nay, though he had attempted it, the people were more knowing, and better informed, than to admit it on his bare ipſe dixit.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. III.

The manner in which St. Patrick ſpread Chriſtianity over Ireland—ſaid to have been the firſt introducer of letters there—this charge refuted; and the great antiquity of our alphabet proved—origin of the celebration of Eaſter—the churches of Aſia and Ireland differ from Rome in their time of celebrating this feaſt—Collumbanus and Colman, &c. zealous defenders of this mode of diſcipline—remarks on, and inferences drawn from, theſe diſputes.

BY the prudence, moderation, and good ſenſe of the apoſtle of Ireland, was the whole kingdom brought to acknowledge the doctrine of Chriſt; and this wonderful reform was conducted with ſo much wiſdom, that it produced not the leaſt diſturbance or confuſion. The Druids and their votaries were unmoleſted, and Chriſtian biſhops were appointed to ſucceed the arch-flamens, by thoſe families only, who, being converted, had a right to ſuch nominations. One thing more, however, Patrick did: the univerſity of Tara, as being the reſidence of the monarchs, had, from time immemorial, a precedency over the other univerſities of the kingdom; and the Ollamhs or doctors of it held a rank ſuperior to them. Patrick, having made Ardmagh the primacy of all Ireland, and alſo founded here an univerſity, was reſolved that it ſhould be the chief of all the Chriſtian ſeminaries in the kingdom; and which rank it gloriouſly ſupported to the diſſolution of our monarchy; having at one time no leſs a number than 7000 ſtudents! yet even this we ſee did not encroach upon the Druids, or their privileges.

I have not once hinted at any of the many wonderful miracles attributed to this apoſtle. If ancient facts, ſup-

A. C. ported by the fulleſt evidence of hiſtory, cannot ſtand before modern critics, what chance can ancient wonders have to gain credit, where they have nothing but a lively faith to ſupport them? My opinion is, that, without recurring at all to miracles, the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of this apoſtle may be accounted for by natural cauſes. Preaching to a learned and poliſhed people a doctrine ſo elevated and pure as that of Chriſt; a doctrine which taught its votaries to rule and govern their paſſions, not the paſſions them, muſt have had great weight. The higheſt perfection of former doctrines was, *ne alteri feceris, quod tibi fieri non vis*, but the new religion went further: it directed to forgive injuries, to do good for evil; nor *let the ſun go down on our wrath*. Such a doctrine preached, and by *religious*, whoſe lives and examples added new luſtre to it, needed neither miracles from above, nor *reſtraining or penal laws* on earth to ſupport it!

Bollandus, Tillemont, and even Fleury, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, have aſſerted that the Iriſh were unacquainted with letters until the days of St. Patrick; nor ſhould I attend much to theſe remarks of foreign writers, who, having no opportunities of conſulting our annals, might be well excuſed for their miſtakes, did I not ſee the ſame falſhood roundly aſſerted by Engliſh, and even ſome modern Iriſh writers too.

To admit this, is to annihilate all our pretenſions to hiſtory and antiquity; but it will be hard to reconcile it to the Chriſtian preachers being at the ſame time the founders of ſeminaries for letters, and to this doctrine's blazing with ſuch ſuperior luſtre amongſt us. Beſides, ſince we had Chriſtian teachers from the firſt century, who founded churches, and made converts, muſt we not ſuppoſe that they muſt have known the uſe of letters? we undoubtedly muſt. But to bring it to a point. If Patrick introduced any letters into Ireland, they muſt be the

the Roman alphabet. But will any one affirm that the Roman letters were in the ſame order or ſtructure of the Iriſh? The Iriſh alphabet was arranged in an order peculiar to itſelf, beginning with the conſonants. It conſiſted of but ſeventeen (though I think more juſtly but of ſixteen, the F being an interpolation) letters; but will any ſcholar advance, that in the fifth century from Chriſt, the Roman alphabet contained no more? Will he be ſo hardy as to ſay, that even this number of letters (ſeventeen), were in the ſame ſtructure with the Roman ones? If he does, Julius Cæſar ſhall be my witneſs of his deception; for he tells us *, that the Britiſh and Gealiſh letters, in his days, were like the Greek; and ſuch is the Iriſh at this day! Now if this letter was not totally different in figure from the Roman, where is the neceſſity for this remark of Cæſar's? But as a gentleman of great eminence in the republic of letters, though he admits the Iriſh to be as early in the poſſeſſion of letters as any nation whatever, yet contends that St. Patrick abſolutely deſtroyed their original letter, and in its place ſubſtituted the preſent one, which he brought from Rome: it merits ſome diſcuſſion, more from the reputation of the author, than the ſolidity of his arguments. He affirms, that Patrick gave them the ſame number of Roman letters which their ancient alphabet contained, and ſubject to the ſame rules. We have ſeen the Greeks, by degrees, reject the ſigns annexed to ſome of their original Cadmean alphabet for new letters, and it was an uſeful alteration; the Saxons did the ſame, and ſo did the northern nations of Europe, who, like them, took their original alphabet from Ireland. But to ſuppoſe a learned nation to ſubſtitute one alphabet for another, without any viſible advantages for the better, as in the preſent caſe, is abſurd. Beſides, by the teſtimony of A. C.

* Comment. lib. vi.

Cæſar,

A. C. Cæſar, the Gauliſh and Iriſh letters muſt differ from the Roman, as in effect they did. But what confuſion muſt not ariſe in the public records of the kingdom from ſuch alteration? Would all the biſhops in England prevail on the parliament to alter the preſent letter, without ſome uncommon advantages? In Ireland, by this hypotheſis, none was pretended; the great influence, the veneration for, and miracles of, St. Patrick, are held forth by our writers in a moſt conſpicuous point of view: every thing relative to him has been preſerved with uncommon reverence; the officers of his hoſhold, and even his meaneſt domeſtics, are on record; and yet not the ſmalleſt notice taken of this wonderful change, except the crude aſſertions of ill-informed foreigners! It is then an uncontrovertible fact, that our preſent letter is the ſame we had from the moſt remote antiquity; the ſame the early Greeks adopted; the ſame the Gauls uſed in the days of Cæſar; and what we find the oldeſt MSS. in Europe are wrote in.

Thus it appears to demonſtration, that in the days of St. Patrick, firſt, the order of the Iriſh letters was different from that of the Roman; ſecondly, that our alphabet had ſeven letters leſs than theirs; and, thirdly, that in ſtructure they differed totally from the Roman: It is indeed confeſſed, that, before the death of this apoſtle, the Chriſtian biſhops, in imitation of the Romans, altered the old form of our alphabet, ſuch as we have exhibited in the ſecond book of this hiſtory; and inſtead of beginning it with the conſonants, like them commenced it with the letter A; and that in proceſs of time, the whole nation adopted the ſame mode. It is not improbable but that Patrick introduced amongſt us the Roman alphabet; and that he gave copies of it to different churches, in order to celebrate the rites of the church in Latin; but it may certainly with as much propriety be inferred, that becauſe the Jeſuits in China made

made their converts, eſpecially the clergy, acquainted with the Roman alphabet, that the Chineſe were totally illiterate before this period, as that the Iriſh were ſo, before the days of St. Patrick! A. C.

My account of this great apoſtle ſhall cloſe with ſome remarks on the celebration of Eaſter; becauſe they are curious and hiſtorical, and diſplay the genius of the people, the ſtate of the Iriſh church at this time, and for many centuries after, and the great good ſenſe and moderation of Patrick.

We have already noticed, that the firſt Iriſh converts were the diſciples of St. John; at leaſt that they received Chriſtianity from the churches of Aſia, and adopted their mode of tonſure, and time of holding the feſtival of Eaſter. The Jews had their Paſcha, or Paſſover, to commemorate their being unhurt on the night that the *deſtroying angels* killed the firſt-born of man and beaſt throughout the land of Egypt. The apoſtles, after the death of Chriſt, judged that nothing could be more expreſſive of our deliverance from ſin, than the inſtitution of a ſimilar feſtival. The Jews were commanded to celebrate their paſſover the fourteenth day *of the moon, of the firſt month*, which correſponded with our March; this being the time of the vernal equinox, when the ſun is in Aries, the days and nights of equal length, and the new year beginning to ſpring. They had put Chriſt to death whilſt they were celebrating the feaſt of the paſchal lamb; and this circumſtance determined the Chriſtians to celebrate theirs at the ſame time. St. Peter and St. Paul, after quitting Paleſtine, judged that the keeping this feaſt on the fourteenth day of the firſt moon, was rather adopting the Jewiſh, than forming a new feſtival; they therefore transferred it to the Sunday after, unleſs that Sunday fell on the fourteenth. But St. John and the churches of Aſia and Africa, adhered to the firſt inſtitution.

A. C. ſtitution. It is, however, a matter of mere diſcipline, in which Chriſtians might differ without ſin or ſchiſm.

St. Polycarp, biſhop of Smyrna, and an immediate diſciple to St. John, came to Rome, A. C. 158, on purpoſe to confer with pope Anacetus on this ſubject. He defended the Aſiatic cuſtom on the authority of that ſaint; and the pope defended the weſtern church, on the general tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul. But though they did not agree in this matter, yet they remained in peace and communion as before *. In the year 196, this queſtion was agitated with great heat between pope Victor and the Aſiatic biſhops. Several councils were held; and one by the biſhops of Aſia, at the requeſt of this pope, at which Polycrates, biſhop of Epheſus preſided. But the reſult was, that they were more unanimous in adhering to the original inſtitution †. The Aſiatics, and all the churches deriving under them, continued this practice of celebrating Eaſter, until the year 325, when the council of Nice iſſued a decree for obſerving this feaſt every where, on the Sunday immediately following the vernal equinox; and this decree was enforced by command of the emperor Conſtantine. But notwithſtanding all this, numbers in Aſia, and the *church of Ireland, with all theſe deriving under it, as the Britons, the Picts, and Dal-Riada*, adhered firmly to the diſcipline of St. John in this point.

What Patrick's opinion on this head was, does not appear. We do not even find any mention of it during his miſſion; and yet it is moſt certain, that the Iriſh did then obſerve this feaſt after the Aſiatic manner, and did treat the deciſions of Rome on this point with great reſpect. Not only this, but ſuch of them as ſpread Chriſtianity, and founded churches in foreign countries, ſtrongly inculcated their mode of celebrating Eaſter.

* Fleury Hiſtoire Eccleſ. tom. i. p. 375. † Ibid. tom. i. p. 518.

Such

Such was the great Columba, apoſtle of the Picts, Co- A. C.
lumbanus, in France, St. Aidanus, Finian, Colman, &c. in Britain, &c. The Venerable Bede *, though he praiſes Columba, and his monks of Huy, as well as his ſucceſſors to his own days, for their great piety and virtue, yet cenſures them for their obſtinacy, in this point of church diſcipline. In France, Columbanus, with all the monks of his houſe, followed it. He was of the nobleſt blood of Ireland, and early dedicated to the ſervice of God. Holy abbots at that time, and for centuries after, erected their retreats in the moſt ſequeſtered places, that nothing might diſturb their prayers and meditations. Scarce an iſland, or ſolitary ſpot of ground in Ireland, that ſpiritual retreats were not already made in, and churches and abbies erected, the remains of moſt of which are yet viſible, *exhibiting at once the wonderful piety of our anceſtors, and the degeneracy of their ſucceſſors, at leaſt of the preſent age.*

Columbanus †, with a number of diſciples, retired to France, and, in the year 590, founded, in the midſt of a deſert in Burgundy, an abbey for himſelf and his followers; but theſe became ſo numerous, that he was obliged to raiſe two others. The fame of his piety, auſterity, charity, and miracles, drew after him numbers of followers; and this perhaps was the true reaſon, that perſecutions were raiſed againſt him. He, with his monks, celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter, on the fourteenth day of the firſt moon, without at the ſame time pretending to ſtretch this cuſtom beyond his own authority. The Gauls complain to Gregory the Great of this 602
ſchiſm. Several councils are called, and Columbanus is cited to appear before them. He appeals to the pope, and, with great learning, ſenſe, and modeſty, defends

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 4.

† Fleury Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 18, 19. 191, &c.

his

A. C. his opinion, and those of his country and ancestors, on this head; and at the same time writes to the Gallish bishops assembled on this occasion.

He observed, that it was established by St. John, Christ's especially beloved disciple, by St. Philip, and the churches of Asia; that it was proved by the calculations of Anatolius, confirmed by St. Jerome. That those of Victorius (employed by Leo the Great, in the fifth century, to adjust the lunations, and the exact time of the equinoxes) were vague and uncertain. He requests the holy father's decisions on this matter, but adds, "that whoever opposes his authority to that of St. "Jerome, will be rejected as an heretic, by the *Western* "*Church*, i. e. the church of Ireland!" After all, he observes to the bishops assembled: "If I am in igno- "rance, bear it with charity, since I am not the author "of this discipline. Let me live in obscurity in this "desert, near the remains of seventeen of our brethren "already dead. We wish to adhere to the customs *of* "*our ancestors*, to our deaths. You should rather con- "sole than distress poor, aged, and afflicted strangers. "In a word, if it be the will of God that you should "expel me from this desert, to which I came from so "great a distance, for the love of Jesus Christ, I shall "only say with the prophet, If I am the cause of this "storm, let it cease, by my being thrown into the "sea."

In the year 664, a council was held in Northumberland, to withdraw the Saxons and Britons from this custom, which they borrowed from the Irish. St. Colman, at the head of his Irish clergy, as Columbanus did, defended this custom by the authority of St. John, and the churches of Asia; by the calculations of Anatolius, and by the practice of his ancestors, bishops and teachers, *who being pious, learned, and godly men, strictly adhered to the same.* In a word, finding the majority of voices

voices againſt him, rather than ſwerve from the diſ- A. C.
cipline of his anceſtors, he reſigned his biſhopric, and returned to Ireland, bringing with him a number of Saxon monks, for whom he founded an abbey in an iſland in the county of Mayo, which was in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate in the days of the Venerable Bede, and for centuries after *.

From the remarkable attachment of the Iriſh to this cuſtom, we have ſtill ſtronger proofs of the uncommon wiſdom of Patrick. He probably endeavoured to reconcile the Iriſh clergy to the practice of the univerſal church; and very likely laboured alſo, to make them acknowledge the ſupremacy of Rome. But he ſaw clearly by their firmneſs in theſe matters, that ſhould he inſiſt much on them, he would endanger his own authority. His ſilence on theſe points accounts for his journey to Rome, after his eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity here. He laid before the conſiſtory the dangers that he apprehended from inſiſting on theſe heads; and we muſt conclude, had the pope's approbation of his conduct; ſince we ſee, upon his return, that the pope preſented him with a pallium, and that he obſerved the ſame prudent ſilence on theſe matters that he did before.

I as freely cenſure my countrymen for their obſtinacy on this occaſion, as any man can. We plainly ſee, that the cuſtom was not peculiar to them; and that they defended it from its antiquity, the practice of many of the diſciples, the authority of the churches of Aſia, the aſtronomical calculations of Anatolius, *and from its being the conſtant uſage of their anceſtors*. They were the laſt to ſubmit to the deciſions of Rome on this head; but they ſubmitted from conviction. Theſe points of the Iriſh church diſcipline, which, before me, no one has attempted to explain, convey facts of the utmoſt conſe-

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. 25.

quence

A. C. quence to Chriſtianity. They prove to demonſtration, that the church of Chriſt, as eſtabliſhed by his diſciples, immediately after his crucifixion, and before they diſperſed themſelves into the different quarters of the globe, remained invariably the ſame, in the different ſucceeding ages! We have ſeen in the ſecond, third, and fourth centuries, no differences whatever between the church of Rome and the Aſiatic churches, ſave about diſcipline; and this was confined to the tonſure, and the celebrating of Eaſter. The Iriſh, from political intereſt, and their dread of a foreign yoke, were the *eternal and avowed enemies of Rome.* This hatred was as conſpicuous in the days of Chriſtianity, as we have ſeen, as in thoſe days of Paganiſm; and it will not be now controverted, that they owed not the ſeeds of Chriſtianity to Roman miſſionaries. Yet, and indeed it is wonderful to be told, we plainly ſee, that in the fifth century, in articles of faith, the churches of Rome and Ireland were in perfect *uniſon*, though it was the firſt time they met! We ſee the ſame miraculous conformity (I think myſelf juſtified in the expreſſion) in the beginning, and beyond the middle of the ſeventh century, when, for the ſecond time, they met, and not in the moſt friendly manner. The queſtion about Eaſter was agitated at this time, both in England and France, with great warmth. The Iriſh are charged with perverſeneſs and wilful obſtinacy, in this matter of diſcipline, but not the leaſt hint at holding heterodox opinions, either in themſelves or in their anceſtors. "If it be thought," ſays St. Colmanus, the Iriſh biſhop of Northumberland, in his defence of his country, "that our moſt reverend father Columba, "and his ſucceſſors, virtuous and godly men, who "kept Eaſter after the ſame manner, either believed "or lived contrary to the ſcripture; eſpecially their "piety being ſo conſpicuous, that God confirmed it

"by

"by miracles *." From this period to the middle of the twelfth century, Rome and Ireland had no connection or correſpondence; and yet upon the landing of cardinal Papiron at that time, the moſt exact conformity in faith and diſcipline was found, between both churches! Facts highly meriting the attention of every reflecting Chriſtian. But whilſt I remark this correſpondence between the different churches of the Chriſtian world, let me not be ſuppoſed to contend, that there never were heterodox opinions advanced and oppoſed to the ſentiments of the univerſal church. Every age proved there were; but then theſe viſionaries were but a few, from whoſe enthuſiaſms the flock was carefully guarded. A. C.

CHAP. IV.

Civil hiſtory of Ireland reſumed—Britain continues to be ravaged by the Iriſh, who thereby make a diverſion in favour of the Gauls and Germans, engaged againſt the Roman power on the continent—Vortigern elected chief of the Britons, after they were deſerted by the Romans—calls in the aid of the Saxons, who ſoon make a treaty with the Iriſh, and eſtabliſh themſelves in Britain.

ABSORBED in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and church diſcipline, the civil hiſtory of Ireland ſeemed for a good while forgot; but theſe matters being now, I hope, ſatisfactorily elucidated, we can with more pleaſure return to our main purſuit. Notwithſtanding the rapid progreſs of Chriſtianity, the luſt of conqueſt did not totally ſubſide. New troops from time to time were pouring into Britain, as well to ſubdue the country, as to make a

* Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. 25.

diverſion

A. C. diverſion in favour of the Gauls and Germans, with whom our monarchs had been long in confederacy, to limit the bounds and conqueſts of the Romans. At this time, the ſuperior abilities of Aetius reſtored in a good meaſure the Roman affairs in Gaul. It was a moſt alarming circumſtance to Ireland. Three times had the Romans been beaten out of Britain by the Iriſh and their Pictiſh allies. To prevent another viſit, they exerted their utmoſt efforts. So devoted to Rome were the Britons, that upon the leaſt appearance of domeſtic tranquillity, their youth repaired to the Roman ſtandards in Gaul, at the ſame time adding to their power, and improving themſelves in military diſcipline. The Iriſh councils had two objects in view; the cauſing ſuch a diverſion in Britain, as would render them incapable of recruiting the Roman armies, and, at the ſame time, ſending ſuch a force to the continent, as would, in conjunction with their allies, afford ſufficient employment to the Romans there, without thinking any farther of Britain. That their troops did really join Attila againſt Rome, Uſher, I think clearly proves *.

How ſucceſsful their eruptions into Britain were, need not be told: ſuffice it, that it gave riſe to that remarkable Britiſh addreſs to Aetius in Gaul. "We know not," ſay they, "which way to turn. The Barbarians drive "us to the ſea, and the ſea forces us back to the "barbarians, between whom we have only the choice of "two deaths: either to be ſwallowed up by the waves, or "butchered by the ſword †." But this general, ſo far from being able to afford them relief, ſent them word to make the beſt terms for themſelves, for ſo diſtracted were his own affairs, that they muſt not expect from him the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. In this ſituation, they, partly by money, and partly by the ſword, got rid for the preſent of theſe daring invaders. Aetius, ſtill enterprizing and

* Primord. Eccleſ. Brit. p. 406—1108. † Ibid. lib. i. cap. 13.

perſevering,

perſevering, gained freſh advantages over the Gauls, and A. C.
a complete victory over Gondecaire.

The incurſions into South Britain again re-commence, 436
and numbers fly to Armoric Brittany, and the coaſts of Flanders. The remainder, in this extremity, proceed to the election of a chief, whoſe authority in time of war ſhould be abſolute. Vortigern is choſen to this high command. Some place his election in the year 436; Rapin, in the year 445; I think it may be reaſonably fixed at 439. But be this matter as it may, his abilities 439
as a general were not equal to public expectations; and if, from time to time, he procured ſome relaxations to his poor diſtreſſed country from theſe cruel invaders, it was owing more to the force of gold than iron. The 449
people at length growing deſperate, exclaim againſt his timidity; and, in this dilemma, he recommends to them the calling in of the Saxons. Aſſiſted by theſe new allies, the Britons ſucceſsfully make head againſt their oppreſſors, and by degrees clear the country of them. Need it be told, the Saxon auxiliaries, ſeeing the effeminacy and cowardice of the Britons, formed the deſign of poſſeſſing the whole country, and certainly with the advice and concurrence of the Iriſh, as hiſtory proves.

Mindful of the cloſe affinity between the two nations, and of their anceſtors having frequently in conjunction invaded Britain when the Roman power was in its greateſt ſplendour there, they ſoon agreed to a private treaty *. This was moſt probably accelerated by the defeat of Attila 451
in Gaul, by Aetius. The Iriſh wiſely conſidered, by promoting this treaty with the Saxons, that they laid the ſeeds for conſtant diſſenſions in Britain; and ſhould the Romans again attempt to invade it, they added, by the ſucceſs of the Saxons, a new and a more powerful bar-

* Bede, Hiſtor. Eccleſ. lib. i. cap. 15.

rier

A. C. rier to their own frontiers. For their conſtant policy was, to keep the war out of their own country as long as they could; juſtly concluding, that the moment the Romans re-eſtabliſhed their power on the continent, their whole force would fall heavy on them. Of what importance the acquiſition of Ireland would be to them, is evident, by what Tacitus obſerves of it: *that by its ſituation it would wonderfully facilitate the preſervation of their conqueſts in Spain and Gaul* *.

By this treaty between the Scots or Iriſh and the Saxons, and the union of their armies, the poor Britons felt greater and crueller miſery than they had ever experienced before; and the Saxons ſoon cut out for themſelves, by means of the Iriſh, laſting ſettlements in Britain. This accounts for, and explains the conſtant predilection which the Iriſh ever after had for the Saxons; the care they took to reform their rude manners; to inſtruct them in the principles of Chriſtianity, and in letters; to ordain biſhops and prieſts on purpoſe for the Saxon miſſion; and to found ſchools and ſeminaries for them in different parts of the kingdom; all which the Venerable Bede, a Saxon born, fully proclaims, by a variety of paſſages in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Britain.

After a glorious reign of thirty years, Laoghaire was killed by lightning. Contemporaries with this prince were, Blood, the ſon of Cas, king of Leath-Mogha; but he dying ſoon after, Aongus, the ſon of Nafraoich, of the Eugenian line, was elected, according to the rule of alternate ſucceſſion; and Carthan-more ſucceeded his father Blood, as king of North Munſter. Theſe two laſt princes were baptized by St. Patrick. Dungalach was king of Conaught, Criomhthan, the ſon of Eana, ruled Leinſter, and Muireadhac Mimgdearg ſucceeded to the kingdom of Ulſter.

* Vita Julii Agricolæ.

CHAP.

A.C.

CHAP. V.

Oilioll-Molt elected monarch—the Druids removed from the aſſemblies of the ſtates, and the Chriſtian biſhops ſucceed them—the aſſemblies of Emania and Cruachan, for the regulating trade and commerce, frequently called together—St. Patrick returns from Rome—Lughaidh claims the monarchy, and raiſes an army to depoſe Oilioll, who is ſlain in the battle of Ocha.

THE eſtates of Ireland are immediately convened at Tara, to elect a ſucceſſor to Laoghaire; and Oilioll Molt, the ſon of the hero Daithi, was, by a plurality of voices, declared and ſaluted monarch. His queen was daughter to Aongus, king of Leath-Mogha, a circumſtance which haſtened his election. His couſin Amalgaidh, was king of Conaught, and is celebrated for his courage and ſucceſs, having triumphed in nine ſea-fights, and in as many engagements by land; but fell himſelf in the tenth battle *. The ſame authority tells us, that Oilioll exacted the Leinſter tribute three times without a Cath, or battle; owing chiefly to the influence of Aongus over that people. 458

He is highly praiſed for his frequently aſſembling the national eſtates at Tara. Being himſelf a Chriſtian, and almoſt all the princes and nobility of the kingdom, it was decreed, that at theſe meetings, for the future, the Chriſtian biſhops ſhould fill the ſeats of the Druid flamens; and that three biſhops ſhould always compoſe a part of the committee for inſpecting the different pro-

* Lecan, Book i.

A. C. vincial hiſtories, inſtead of the three Arch-druids. For this committee was appointed by the national aſſembly every three years, and was heretofore compoſed of three Arch-druids, three of the Imperial antiquarians, and three bards. The monarch, or his delegate, always preſided at theſe meetings, which were held in a houſe erected for that particular purpoſe. Theſe meetings, after the reception of Chriſtianity, were more regularly convened than before. By the wiſdom of St. Patrick, we ſee this change in religion produced not the ſmalleſt convulſion or confuſion in the kingdom; every engine in the ſtate moving as uniformly as if no ſuch alteration had ever happened. We ſhould ſuppoſe that the biſhops were particularly attentive to the national records; nay, that could they have found any impoſitions introduced into them, or falſe chronology foiſted up, they would be glad to detect them, in order to throw an odium on the Druid order; but no ſuch thing has ever appeared! and this ſingle conſideration I apprehend ought to have, and no doubt it will have, greater weight with the impartial public, than the crude conjectures of faſtidious moderns, too frequently oppoſed to ancient hiſtory.

Beſides the meetings of the eſtates at Tara, the conventions of Emania and Cruachan, were frequently aſſembled in this reign, as they were in the days of Tuathal, and other great princes. Theſe two laſt Aonachs, or aſſemblies, had for their objects a cloſe inſpection into the ſtate of trade, commerce, and mechanic arts. They aſſembled by particular proclamation from the monarch, and made their report of the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom. Sixty of the beſt informed in theſe matters were ordered to diſperſe themſelves into the different great cities and manufacturing towns, to ſee if the excluſive privileges granted to them, were in any manner abuſed; the monarch, or provincial kings, defrauded in the duties impoſed; or if perſons not properly qualified

qualified were permitted to carry on trade or manufactures, to the diſhonour and injury of the kingdom. In all, or any of the above caſes, on making report to theſe conventions, which were adjourned from week to week, they had immediately full power granted them to prohibit unqualified perſons from meddling in trade; and to make what other reforms they judged would beſt promote the general good of the nation. Such were the wiſe methods by which our great anceſtors preſerved their country free, powerful, and independent, whilſt they beheld every other part of Europe reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs and confuſion, owing to the want of ſound legiſlation! A. C.

How differently have affairs been conducted in modern times! Though there is not a nation at this day in Europe that has not judged the ſtate of commerce and manufactures of the higheſt conſequence; though to promote this great object, Great Britain has her board of trade, founded indeed no earlier than the reign of Elizabeth; though France, Spain, Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, have their reſpective chambers of commerce;—even the Hanſe-towns, ſuch as Hamburgh, Dantzic, Bremen, &c. direct their ſole attention to trade; yet with all theſe *living examples*, no ſuch inſtitution prevails in modern Ireland; and by this means our poor, in the moſt fertile and beneficent ſoil under the ſun, are reduced to ſuch wretchedneſs as humanity ought to bluſh for!

We have noted, in the laſt chapter, the alliance formed between the Iriſh, Picts, and Saxons, to diſtreſs the Britons. Theſe laſt, aided by their brethren in Brittany, and led on by Ambroſius Aurelianus, the laſt chief of the Roman blood, ſays Venerable Bede *, had many bloody encounters with the Iriſh and Picts in Britain †,

* Lib. i. cap. 16. † Keating's Hiſtory, page 2.

A. C. being the allies of the Saxons; but in general to their loſs, as the event proved.

463 About this time St. Patrick returned to Ireland from Rome, whither he went to give an account of his miſſion, and where he remained ſince the year 461. The pope, Hilarius, received him in the moſt affectionate manner, preſenting him with a pallium, and highly applauded every thing he had done; on his taking leave, he gave him many valuable preſents, amongſt others,

464 ſome church relics *. Aongus king of Munſter, died; and Eocha Baildearg, of the Dal-Gas line, ſucceeded him in that title, according to the law of ſucceſſion. Aongus was a prince of great piety and learning, and a great patron of letters. His ſon Feidhlim was king of Deſmond, or South Munſter.

The attention and care taken by this monarch Olioll, to whatever regarded the good of the nation, deſerve highly to be applauded. Whilſt with a foſtering hand he encouraged trade and manufactures, things of greater moment were not leſs objects of his care. He kept up a large body of troops in Britain, in ſupport of his allies; but the immature death of Aongus deprived him of a powerful ally. This appeared clearly by the Lagenians refuſing to pay the famous Leinſter tribute, the cauſe of ſo much bloodſhed, and by their arming themſelves to oppoſe his pretenſions by force. Battles were fought with various ſucceſſes; and it was ſometimes paid, and at other times refuſed, according as the force of arms prevailed, and this for ſome years.

The ſon of the monarch Laoghaire, the ſon of the hero Niall, whoſe youth prevented him from appearing as candidate for the monarchy on the death of his father, had now paſſed the year of probation, (twenty-five). He was poſſeſſed of the ſame great qualifications as his

* Vita Sexta Sancti Patricii, page 101.

anceſtors.

anceſtors. The love of dominion and glory fired his breaſt; and he reſolved to ſeize on the monarchy, or die in the attempt. He leagued with his couſin Murtough, the ſon of Earca; with the king of Leinſter, the Iriſh Dal-Riada, and other princes; and ſoon appeared at the head of a moſt numerous and powerful army. The monarch was not behind-hand with him in his preparations. It was then the cuſtom in Ireland, as it was at all other times, both before and after it, when a prince was reſolved to lay claim to the monarchy, and found himſelf powerful enough to ſupport his pretenſions by the ſword, to ſend his ambaſſadors, demanding a formal renunciation of the crown, or to put the merits to the iſſue of a general battle; on which occaſion the time and place of action were agreed upon. Oilioll ſummoned all his friends and dependants; and on the plains of Ocha, in Meath, the two armies met. Dreadful was the conflict, and great the ſlaughter on both ſides; but Oilioll ſeeing the ſucceſs leaning to the ſide of his adverſary, with a choſen corps ruſhed into the midſt of the battle, to ſingle out his competitor, by whoſe hand he fell in ſingle combat. The carnage in this engagement exceeded by far any that happened in any preceding battle for many years, very many of the ſlain being of the prime nobility of the kingdom. On this account our Senachies began to reckon a new æra from it, as was their cuſtom from all uncommonly remarkable events. A. C. 478

During this reign Ulſter had three ſucceeding kings; the above Muireadhac, Cairel Coſgrach, and Eocha, ſon to Muireadhac. Munſter had Aongus, of the Eugenian line, for king; whilſt Carthan, of the Dal-Gas race, ranked as king of North Munſter. On the death of Aongus, Eocha the ſon of Carthan, was ſaluted king of Leath-Mogha, whilſt Feidhlim, the ſon of Aongus, was king of South Munſter; Breaſil Balach was king of Leinſter;

A. C. Leinſter; and Dungalach, and after him, Eogan Bel, were ſucceſſive kings of Conaught.—Leo the Great, Hilarius, and Simplicius, were popes.

CHAP. VI.

Lughaidh raiſed to the empire—his tranſaction on taking poſſeſſion of the throne—death of St. Patrick—invaſion of Albany by the ſons of Erc, who eſtabliſh a new monarchy in North Britain—account of the ſeminaries of learning, learned men, and religious foundations in Ireland—death of Lughaidh.

478 LUGHAIDH, the ſon of Laoghaire, the ſon of Niall, the ſon of Eochaidh, of the royal line of Heremon, by gaining the bloody battle of Ocha, gained the monarchy alſo, and was accordingly ſaluted emperor.

His firſt care was to reward his friends and aſſociates. Mortough, the ſon of Earca, who brought a large body of troops into the field to fight his battles, had a principal lead in his adminiſtration. The ſons of Luig, of the Dal Gas line, and race of Heber, got new acquiſitions by this revolution. In the reign of Laoghaire we obſerved that this Luig got ſeveral conſiderable lordſhips in Leinſter, which, from his ſurname, were called the Dealbhnas. To theſe now were added Delvin Nugad, in the county of Roſcommon; Delvin Culfabhar, and Delvin Feadha, in the county of Galway. The O'Conrics of this race (ſo called from Conraoi, one of their anceſtors), were proprietors of part of this laſt tract, until diſpoſſeſſed by the O'Flaherties and O'Hallorans, deſcendants of Brien, eldeſt ſon to Eochaidh, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century.

We find this prince to be deeply engaged in war, and to have fought ſeveral bloody battles; but though ſeveral

several Christian seminaries were founded during this century, and that the Druids still exercised great power, yet we are left shamefully in the dark with respect to the causes of these bloody contests; whilst religious transactions, the numbers of saints, and pious foundations, are carefully attended to! But the present monarch, if ever a Christian, certainly apostatised; and this I think will explain the shameful inattention to the political transactions of his reign. We shall represent them in the best manner we can. A. C.

It is recorded that he fought a most bloody battle against the Lagenians at Cill Osnach, in the county of Carlow, in which Aongus, king of Munster, fell: but this last is a mistake, as he died some years earlier, as the Book of Lecan testifies; it must be therefore his son Eocha, and he fought in defence of the Lagenians. A party war soon broke out in Leinster, in which Fraoch, the son of Fionachda, fell by the sword of Oilioll, the son of Dunluing, who succeeded him. Conaught was invaded by the monarch, or rather by Mortough, who seemed to project these different wars, the better to pave the way to his own advancement. Three very bloody battles were fought here; in the first fell Eogan-Bel, in the second his son Oilioll, and in the last his successor, a very warlike prince, by name Duach-Teammaigh. Eochaidh, the son of Cairbre, the son of Niall, engaged the Lagenians in several battles.

In the midst of these bloody dissensions died the great St. Patrick, apostle of Ireland, in the 121st year of his age, after governing the Irish church with unexampled wisdom, piety, and moderation, for sixty-one years. He died on the 17th of March, in 493, which day is still held as his festival, and was interred in the city of Down; where, under the same monument, were afterwards placed the bodies of St. Bridget and St. Columba, as these verses note:

"Hi

A. C.

" Hi tres in Duno tumulo, tumulantur in uno,
" Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius."

This monument was conſtantly viſited, to the time of the Reformation, by pious Chriſtians from different parts of Europe; and large preſents were made, and new decorations conſtantly added to it. The fame of its riches inſpired lord Grey, deputy of the *Engliſh Pale*, in the reign of Henry VIII. to make an incurſion into this country, in which this noble remains of piety and antiquity was defaced, and plundered of all its moſt valuable effects. The cathedral of Kildare, where the body of St. Conlaith was interred, to whom and to St. Bridget ſuperb monuments were raiſed, highly ornamented with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, ſuffered the ſame fate, as did every other religious foundation, within ſtretch of his ſacrilegious power.

The minuteſt circumſtances relative to this great apoſtle, are ſtill preſerved amongſt us, even to his private œconomy, and to the officers of his houſhold. With the greateſt piety, moderation, and wiſdom, he ſtill preſerved the archiepiſcopal dignity with great eclat. The names of his ſecretary, the intendant of his houſhold, his librarian, the maſter of his wardrobe, and of his eccleſiaſtical dreſs are preſerved; the hermits who entertained the poor, the phyſicians of his houſhold, and even the ladies who ſuperintended the lace and embroidery of the ſacred veſtments, are handed down to us. Every perſon who acted under him was looked upon with an eye of reſpect. The names of his charioteer, his page, his goldſmiths and jewellers, his workers in iron and wood, and his chief maſons and architects, &c. are ſtill on record *!

In the year 498, exactly twenty years after the bloody battle of Ocha, is marked down as the period when the

* Lecan, book i.

six sons of Erc, the son of Eocha, called Muin-ramhar, A. C.
or of the Fat Neck, invaded Albany, repossessed themselves of the seats of their ancestors, and established a new monarchy in North Britain. But as this regal settlement did not commence until the beginning of the next century, we shall close this chapter and book with an account of the seminaries of learning, the learned men, and religious foundations of Ireland in this age.

St. Ailbe founded schools for instruction, as well as the church, at Emily, in the county of Tipperary, about A. C. 416. This school was in great esteem; and amongst other great luminaries it produced were St. Colman and St. Molua; this last, son to Eocha, king of Munster, and who founded the church of Killaloe, but more properly Kill-Molua, Kail being Irish for a church. The church and schools of St. Declan were about the same time erected in the Deasies in the county of Waterford. St. Patrick held these two prelates in such high esteem, that he calls the first "the Patrick of Munster;" the other "the Patrick of the Deasies." St. Kieran's college was opened at Sier-Kieran, in the King's county; and that of St. Ibar, in a sequestered island, in the county of Wexford. To these schools, as Usher * and Colgan † affirm, numbers not only of natives, but even of foreigners resorted, to be instructed in religion and letters. St. Patrick himself founded the university of Ardmagh, 445
which preceded all others for extent, magnificence, and endowments; and we may reasonably suppose, that to every episcopal church he founded, he annexed a school for public education, as his precursors did. It is worth while to attend to the reason, why religion and letters went hand in hand in Ireland. By the Irish constitution, doctors in science not only preceded the nobility, but were exempt from all temporal laws, and their persons

* Primord. Eccles. Brit. p. 1062, 3. † Colgan Vita St. Abban, &c.

and

A. C. and poſſeſſions unmoleſted in wars. What greater ſecurity could the early Chriſtians have, to promulgate their religious tenets, than the ſanction of public ſchools; we ſee theſe ſchools at this time reſorted to by foreigners as well as natives; a demonſtrative proof, that the crowds of ſtrangers who flowed from all parts of Europe to us, were not confined to the days of Chriſtianity *only*, elſe what would have brought them then here.

Theſe precurſors of Patrick, to wit, Ailbe, Declan, Kieran, and Ibarus, we may ſuppoſe were eminent writers as well as preachers. Ailbe, wrote "a Rule for "Monks." Dubthach, arch-poet to the monarch Loaghaire, was a man of great learning, and an early convert to Chriſtianity. His poetic talents, which he before often employed in praiſe of Bel, Crom, and other heathen gods, he now converted to the adulation of the great Creator, by whom only theſe planets act. Colgan affirms * to have had ſeveral works of this poet in his poſſeſſion.

St. Patrick himſelf was not leſs eminent for letters than for preaching and converting. He is ſaid to have been a maſter of the Iriſh, Britiſh, Gallic, and Latin tongues, and alſo of the Greek. His writings are very many; they are too numerous to be here inſerted; but in Colgan you will find an ample detail of them †. St. Fiech, biſhop of Sleibhte, or the Mountains, in the Queen's county, was a diſciple of St. Patrick, and wrote his life in Iriſh metre, extant in the Trias Thaumat. Harris, attributes another work to him ‡. Binin, a diſciple and ſucceſſor, or rather Cobharbhar to St. Patrick, wrote his life, partly in Latin, partly Iriſh. This Binin has been ſuppoſed to be the author of the famous Leabhar na Guart, or Book of Rights, by which the ſubſidies

* Trias Thaum. p. 8. † Ibid. p. 214.
‡ Writers of Ireland, p. 6.

paid

paid to the kings of Ireland by their ſubjects, were ſtated. A. C.
For my part, I think it the work of different writers, and in different ages. For in it, we find amongſt the preſents which the kings of Munſter, in their royal tours through Ireland offered at the different courts they viſited, that they preſented the kings of Emania with ſeventy ſteeds, ſeventy ſuits of armour, and eight corſlets. Now it has been already obſerved, that this royal fabric was deſtroyed in the beginning of the fourth century, and of courſe near a century earlier than the birth of this writer. Again, mention is made in another part of this work, of the dues to be paid by the Danes to the kings of Leinſter; which proves that this laſt part muſt have been wrote ſome ages poſterior to the preſent æra. It is however partly a very ancient, and upon the whole a very well preſerved piece of Iriſh antiquity. St. Mel, St. Luman, and his nephew St. Patrick wrote alſo, part Latin, part Iriſh, the life and miracles of our great apoſtle. From theſe works Jocelyne, the monk (who was employed by the famous John de Courcey, in the twelfth century, to write the life of the Iriſh apoſtle, and which he finiſhed about A. C. 1185) acknowledges to have received great lights on this ſubject *. The celebrated biſhop Sedulius flouriſhed in this century, whoſe works, particularly his hymns and ſacred poems, have been much admired. Harris is minute in his account of them †. Frideline, an Iriſh prince, devoted himſelf to a monaſtic life, and travelled into Germany and France, where he built many monaſteries, and converted numbers to Chriſtianity. He is ſaid to have publiſhed ſome religious tracts ‡. The celebrated St. Cathaldus, biſhop and patron of Tarentum, the writer of ſome remarkable propheſies, is placed by Harris in this century; but from

* Vita ſexta St. Patricii. p. 106. † Writers of Ireland, p. 7.
‡ Writers of Ireland, p. 9.

the

A. C. the authority of Mac Bruodin's Book of Munſter, and that of the two Moroni, both brothers and Tarentines born, I have already placed him in the ſecond century. St. Kienan, firſt biſhop of Duleck, was chriſtened, inſtructed, and educated by St. Patrick, and wrote his life *.

Long before the arrival of St. Patrick, Chriſtianity was in a moſt flouriſhing condition in the province of Munſter; ſo much ſo, that though he landed in Ireland in 432, yet he did not viſit this province until 448. There he met St. Ailbe, their archbiſhop, with ſeveral of his diſciples, and found many churches and monaſteries erected. Thoſe of greateſt note were the abbies of Inis-Catha, or Scattery, and Inis-Lua, both iſlands in the Shannon, and founded by St. Senan, of Corca Baviſcin. The abbey of Muingarid, near Limerick, being erected in the fourth century, as was another near Adare, in the ſaid county, to this day called Ceil-Dimma, from Dimma, a Chriſtian prieſt, and to whoſe care St. Declan was committed, when a youth, for inſtruction. St. Endeus, founded the monaſtery of Aran, called Arra na Naoimh, or Aran of the Saints, on account of the amazing number of ſaints who lived and died in this famous retreat; St. Maidoc, another, at Diſert Naimbre, in the country of Waterford. The principal monaſteries founded by our apoſtle, were thoſe of Slane, Trion, and Domhnach-Phadraig, in Meath; Kill-Auxille near Kildare; Finglas, near Dublin; Achad Abla, in the county of Wexford; Galen, in the county of Carlow; Ardah, in the county of Longford; Inis bo Fion and Inis Cloghran, in the ſaid county; Louth and Druim-inis-gluin, in the county of Louth; St. Peter and Paul's abbey, at Ardmagh; Saul and Nendrum abbies, in the county of Down; Rath-Muighe, in the

* Trias Thaum. p. 217.

county

county of Antrim; Coleraine-abbey, in the county of Derry; Louch-Dearg, in the county of Donnegal; Clogher, in the county of Tirone; Inis Muigh-Samh, in the county of Fermanagh; Cluan-Feis, Tuam, and Kill-Chonal, in the county of Galway; Inis-More, in the county of Roſcommon; Druim-Lias, in the county of Sligoe, &c. A. C.

The firſt monaſtery of females on record in Ireland, is that of Kill-Liadan, in the county of Carlow, founded by St. Kieran, before the arrival of St. Patrick. St. Patrick founded thoſe of Cluan-Bronach and Druimches, in the county of Longford; of Temple-Bride, and Temple na Fearta, or the Temple of Miracles, in the county of Ardmagh; the abbey of Lin, near Carrickfergus; of Cluan-Dubhain, in the county of Tirone; of Roſs-Oirther, in the county of Fermanagh; of Roſs-Benchoir, in the county of Clare; and Killaracht, in the county of Roſcommon! Beſides theſe, St. Bridget founded her famous monaſtery in Kildare, A. C. 480, for which ſhe formed particular rules, and which was the head of her order. Upon the whole, it is agreed on by the early writers of his life, that no leſs than 700 religious houſes were built and conſecrated during the miſſion of this apoſtle. An amazing number truly at any time; but more particularly, when two out of the three monarchs of Ireland, who ſucceeded each other in this period, were unbelievers! If any of them were ever Chriſtians (which I much doubt), they certainly apoſtatized. To this cauſe, or their want of faith, the pious Chriſtians charitably reſolved their violent deaths; Laoghaire and Lughaidh being deſtroyed by lightning.

There cannot, in my opinion, be a ſtronger proof of the civilized ſtate of the nation, than the adverting to this circumſtance. Theſe early Chriſtians were, no doubt, highly eminent for letters, and greatly cultivated the fine arts; and the monarchs endued with a truly great and philoſophic

A. C. philoſophic ſpirit, conſidering their religion as no way dangerous to the ſtate, gave not the leaſt check to it. Like the emperor's of China in our days, and for above a century paſt, though greatly attached to the religion of their anceſtors, yet, far from prohibiting the preachers of Chriſtianity from ſpreading their tenets through the empire, they granted both liberty and protection to the Jeſuits and Dominicans, not only to convert the people, but to erect churches for the uſe of theſe votaries.

503 After a reign of twenty-five years, this prince, Lughaidh, was killed by lightning. Eocha Baildearg, of the Dal-Gas line, continued for ſome years king of Leath-Mogha, and Feidhlim, the ſon of Aongus, king of South Munſter. On his death, and during the adminiſtration of Lughaidh, Criomthan, the ſon of Feidhlim, was ſaluted king of Leath-Mogha, and Cormoc Coichin, ſucceeded his brother Eocha in the ſovereignty of Thomond. Two kings of Ulſter, Eocha and Fergus. Three kings in Leinſter, Fraoch, the ſon of Finachda and Oilioll, and Illan, the ſons of Dunluing. Three in Conaught, Eogan, Bel, Oilioll, and Duach-Teanmaigh.

BOOK

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

Of the monarch Mortough, and his wars—an Iriſh government erected in Albany—nature of the connection between the Iriſh and Picts explained—of the firſt and ſucceeding Iriſh, who emigrated to Albany, to their erecting of a monarchy, and reducing of the Picts—their ſucceſſors loſe the arts and letters, which they poſſeſſed—the uſe of them, on their arrival, to eſtabliſh an high antiquity in Britain, and the reaſon.

MURTOUGH, the ſon of Muireadhach, the ſon of Eogan, the ſon of the hero Niall, was unanimouſly ſaluted monarch of Ireland. He is generally called the ſon of Earca, from his mother's name, who was the daughter of Loarn, of the Dal-Riada race. A.C. 503

He is the firſt Iriſh monarch who lived and died in the Chriſtian faith; notwithſtanding that moſt of the provincial kings publicly profeſſed this doctrine, for above half a century earlier. He is highly celebrated as well for his piety as his intrepidity. His empreſs Sabina led ſo exemplary a life, as to be ranked amongſt the ſaints of Ireland *. This prince met with great diſturbances in his reign. It is recorded that he fought no leſs than ſeventeen bloody battles †, five of which were in the courſe of one year ‡! But, notwithſtanding that this was an age in which letters flouriſhed in an emi-

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 679, 690. † Grat. Luc. p. 74. ‡ Keating, p. 2.

nent

A. C. nent degree amongſt us, yet it is not a little ſurpriſing, that we find no accounts preſerved of the cauſe of theſe fatal diſſentions; whilſt pious foundations, and genealogies of ſaints are recorded with a ſcrupulous nicety. But, wrapt up in holy importance, our Chriſtian ſenachies, in all probability, thought nothing elſe worth recording.

We ſhall now return to a moſt remarkable æra, namely, the eſtabliſhing a new monarchy in North Britain. We have already obſerved, that in the year 498, the ſix ſons of Erc, aided by the monarch Lughaidh, invaded the modern Scotland. They were called the two Larns, the two Aonguſes, and the two Fearguſes. But as Iriſh and North Britiſh writers differ materially, with reſpect to the period when this regal government began, and that volumes have been written on the ſubject, to enable the reader to form a clear judgment of the whole, it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort retroſpective view of the early ſtate of this country.

In the infancy of the Mileſian government, we have ſeen the Picts eſtabliſhed in North Britain. We have there remarked the uncommon wiſdom of Heremon, when he vouchſafed his protection to this people, in unalterably fixing them attached to the Iriſh monarchy, by the ſimple bonds of wedlock! a circumſtance which may furniſh ſome hints to modern legiſlators, to ſecure the fidelity of their colonies. But though from time to time, this country was invaded from Ireland, yet it was rather to puniſh them, for their too great attachment to one party of the Iriſh, than from any ſuſpicions of their ever aiming to diſturb, much leſs overturn the Iriſh conſtitution. It was impoſſible in the frequent conteſts about the monarchy, but that they muſt have a greater deſire to ſupport the intereſt of one party, than that of another. The proximity of Ulſter, and their more frequent alliances and intercourſes with the Irian race, than with

with the other ſepts of Ireland, attached them more A. C.
ſtrongly to them. For this reaſon, the other two houſes, particularly the Heberians, laboured to leſſen their power, as the ſureſt means of reducing the northern line of Iriſh. This I thought neceſſary to remark, as all the Iriſh writers I have met with, regard theſe invaſions of Albany as ſo many conqueſts. Plain ſenſe points out the fact, as I have noted; for had it been otherwiſe, they would neceſſarily form alliances with the Britons, and other enemies of Ireland, and either ſhake off their dependance entirely, or become a real conquered people; neither of which was the caſe. Their predeliction for the Iriſh, aroſe from the ſtrongeſt ties. Their wives being moſtly Iriſh, infuſed this love into their huſbands and children. The next race caught the ſame infection from the ſame cauſe; and this cauſe conſtantly acting, the effect could not ceaſe. When the Romans over-ran all South Britain, they could not ſhake off this attachment of the Picts. Even their invaſion of Scotland produced no alteration in their ſentiments. In the days of Agricola, it is evident that the Romans meditated a deſcent on Ireland, the great utility of detaching the Picts from their connections with the Iriſh muſt have ſtruck ſo eminent a commander as Agricola; and I make no doubt but he laboured, though in vain, to bring over theſe people to the intereſts of Rome.

Thus we ſee, from very obvious cauſes, that there was a conſtant intercourſe between the two people; but the moment the Romans entered Britain, their mutual intereſts demanded the ſtricteſt alliance. The Iriſh, from this time forward, kept legions in Britain, which, as the Romans did, they called after the country, Fine Albin. Their numbers by this means, in North Britain, became conſiderable; but ſtill without any fixt order or legiſlation, until about the end of the reign of Conaire

A. C. 193 the Grand, or the beginning of that of his ſucceſſor Art. Carbre, the ſon of this Conaire, made a regular ſettlement in Ardgile, whoſe poſterity after him were called Dal-Reudini, as Bede * declares; from his ſurname Riada, or of the Long Arm, to which the word Dal, which denotes a ſept or family, was added. Mac-Con, who ſucceeded Art in the monarchy of Ireland, had alſo a conſiderable property there, which his ſon Fatha-Conan greatly enlarged. From Mac Con, the houſe of Campbell, the Mac Allens, &c. claim their pedigree; and to this day the firſt are called Siol Mhic-Cuin, or the poſterity of Mac-Con. Aongus-Fer, grandſon to Carbre-Riada, greatly enlarged his family poſſeſſions in Albany, and from him the ſhire of Aongus took its name. About the year 331, the Collas, grandſons to Carbre-Liffecaire, fled to Scotland for rebellion, and were graciouſly received by their uncle, the Pictiſh king, who aſſigned them lands, and at length procured their pardon. From theſe the Mac Donnels of Scotland are deſcended; and to them are they indebted for their poſſeſſions, as well there as in the iſles. Some time after, Maine, called Leamhna, (from a river of that name in the county of Kerry, near which he was nurſed) the ſon of Core, king of Munſter, repaired to Albany, that theatre of glory to the Iriſh nation, in thoſe days of heroiſm; and after exhibiting prodigies of valour againſt the Romans, gained a principality there, from him called Leamhna, pronounced Leavna. He got the title of Maor-More-Leamhna, or the Great Steward of Leavna, Maor, being Iriſh for a ſteward; from which title his ſucceſſors aſſumed the name of Steward. His brother Carbre, called Cruithniach, or the Pict, gained alſo large territories in North Britain. Erc, the ſon of Eocha, the ſon of the above Aongus, the deſcendant of Carbre-Riada, re-

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. i. cap. 1.

paired

paired to North Britain, to poſſeſs himſelf of the territories of his anceſtors there ſoon after, i. e. about A. C. 440, and died, according to Uſher, and the Book of Lecan, A. 474. His eldeſt ſon Loarne, in 478, raiſed the entire clan of Dal-Riada, as well in Ireland as Britain, to fight the battles of Lughaidh, influenced thereto by his ſon-in-law Mortough, then very young; by which timely aſſiſtance Lughaidh gained the monarchy. From this prince the country of Lorn took its name. Indeed, the poſſeſſions and pedigrees of the Albanian Scots, in North Britain, are preſerved with wonderful accuracy in our books of antiquity. O'Duvegan, in particular, notes the ſubdiviſions of their families and patrimonies, their different chiefs, their power by ſea and land, &c. A. C.

From this account it appears, that though the poſſeſſions of the Iriſh in Albany were conſiderable, yet that they were *there* neither an united or a powerful people. For the great chiefs, being, ſome of the line of Heber, others of that of Heremon, or Ith, reſiding moſtly in the mother country, and engaging in their different family diſputes at home, attended not ſufficiently to their mutual intereſts in Albany. Mortough, ſenſible of this, prevailed on his uncles in 498 to return there, and ſtrengthen their family-intereſt as much as poſſible. Soon after he was called to the Iriſh monarchy, he cauſed Fergus, the youngeſt brother, to be proclaimed king of the Albanian Scots, or Iriſh; and to add greater ſolemnity to his inauguration, he ſent over the famous marble chair, on which the monarchs of Ireland were 503
enthroned. This was the firſt prince of the Iriſh race, who was proclaimed or acknowledged as a king of Albany. He united the different jarring intereſts of the coloniſts, compelling ſuch as refuſed to recognize his title to make their ſubmiſſions, and formed from this union a reſpectable power, ſubordinate, however, to the

A. C. mother country. His ſucceſſors, warlike and enterpriſing princes, gradually extended their frontiers, enabled ſo to do by the conſtant aſſiſtance ſent them, from time to time, from Ireland, until at length, in the ninth century, Kenneth, the ſon of Alpin, completely deſtroyed the Pictiſh empire, and, inſtead of king of the Albanian Scots, as his anceſtors were ſtyled, he was ſaluted king of the Albanies, i. e. of the Picts and Scots. This explains the following lines of Fordun on this event:—

"*Primus* in ALBANIS, fertur regnâſſe Kenethus
"Filius Alpini, prælia multa gerens.
"*Expulſis Pictis*, regnavit is octo bis annis."

Though to this time the Albanian Iriſh had undoubtedly arts and ſciences amongſt them; yet, in the reign of his ſucceſſor Conſtantine, the remains of the vanquiſhed Picts inviting the Danes to their aſſiſtance, the whole country became ſoon one ſcene of deſolation, from which fair ſcience fled! Ireland too, being about the ſame time invaded, could not afford them thoſe ſupplies ſhe formerly did. Add to this, that the Albanian Iriſh no longer paid tribute to the mother country, as we ſhall note in its place; ſo that what between their wars with the Danes, the Saxons, and Normans, hiſtory and chronology became totally loſt there. Theſe events were not, nevertheleſs, nor could they, in the nature of things, be totally forgot. The only piece of Albanian Scottiſh antiquity extant, is a regal poem, much like ours, of Giolla Caomhain, in which is contained a liſt of their kings, beginning with Loarn, brother to Fergus, and ending with Malcolm, the ſon of Donchadh, confirming, word for word, our accounts *. Add to this, that Scotland, STRICTLY SPEAKING, comprehended only

* Trias Thaumat. fol. 115.

that

that part of North Britain poſſeſſed by the Scots or Iriſh. A. C.
This is acknowledged by all their writers. To this purpoſe Hume tells us, "It is certain, *that in very ancient* "*language*, Scotland means only the country north of "the Firths of Clyde and Forth. I ſhall not make a "parade of literature to prove it, becauſe I do not find "the point is diſputed by the Scots themſelves *."

In the days of the Venerable Bede, who died A. 737, and conſtantly reſided at his monaſtery at Weymouth, on the Pictiſh borders, we find the Albanian Scotch or Iriſh diſtinguiſhed from the other clans of Iriſh, by the name of Dal-Reudini, which he juſtly explains into the poſterity of Riada. This proves, that they were even then looked upon as an Iriſh colony ONLY, not as a diſtinct and independent body of Iriſh.

The Albanian Iriſh, as I obſerved, engaged in conſtant wars with different invaders, ſoon loſt whatever arts they had been in poſſeſſion of. An event, however, pointed out to them the neceſſity of hiſtory and chronology, which they availed themſelves of. The immature death of Margaret of Norway, in the decline of the thirteenth century, leaving the kingdom of Scotland expoſed to the pretenſions of different competitors; Edward I. of England, aſſumed to himſelf the right of judge, affirming that both Scotland and Wales were but fiefs to England; for that Brutus, the Trojan, who ſubdued all Britain, had three ſons, Laegrus, Camber, and Albanctus, between whom he divided his territories. To Laegrus he left Laegria, or England; to Camber, Cambria, or Wales; and to Albanctus, Albany, from him ſo called; but ſtill as fiefs, from the eldeſt ſon. In 1301, a memorial to this purpoſe was delivered by his miniſters to pope Boniface VIII. but the Scots were determined not to be behind hand with him in point of an-

* Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 258.

tiquity,

A. C. tiquity, or forfeit their title to independency for want of invention. Their countryman, Hume, treating of the æra in queſtion, has theſe remarkable words: "*If the* "*Scots had before this period any real hiſtory, worthy of the* "*name*, except what they glean from ſcattered paſſages "of the Engliſh hiſtorians, theſe events, however mi- "nute, YET BEING THE ONLY FOREIGN ONES OF THE "NATION, might deſerve a place in it *." The Engliſh memorial to this pope, traces their government to above 1100 years before Chriſt; but the Scots make theirs coeval with Moſes! They affirmed that Eric, the ſon of Gathelus, who was contemporary with Moſes, ſailed from Ireland to Albany, and there founded a monarchy, which continued uninterrupted to that time; and which, from theſe two commanders, took the name of Eric-Gathel, or Ardgile. Here we plainly ſee a confuſed memory of their original, much like what we have remarked of the early Greeks, but replete with abſurdities and anachroniſms. In 1320, another memorial was addreſſed to John XXII. pope of Rome; in this they aſſure his holineſs, that their Eric was the ſon of Gathelus, and Scota, queen of Egypt, who were contemporaries with Moſes. But Scota, as we have ſeen, was the mother, not the wife, of Gathelus; and the ſon of this laſt was named Eaſru, not Eric. Nor was it for many generations after, that the ſons of Mileſius, not Gathelus, landed in Ireland; 1800 years after which period, not ſooner, an Iriſh colony formed a regal ſettlement in Albany. Yet, even at Rome, we have reaſon to think that this pompous parade of antiquity met with ſome cenſure; becauſe, in a very few years after their ſecond memorial, John Fordun, a Scotch prieſt, was employed to write a hiſtory of Scotland; and this is the firſt hiſtorian their country produced. That this

* Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 255.

work

work was undertaken ſoon after, is manifeſt from this, A. C.
that he ſpeaks of the year 1341 in it as a preſent one; and that it was occaſioned by the ſtrictures on their former aſſertions, muſt be admitted, becauſe he lops off at once from their antiquity above 1500 years; a great falling off truly! For, inſtead of making the father of Eric coeval with Moſes, he admits his reign to have commenced about 330 years before Chriſt! Need I dwell long on the ſubſequent forgeries of Boetius, Dempſter, &c. to ſupport this imaginary antiquity. Their affirming that the Scotia of Hegiſippus, Claudian, Marcellinus, Gildas, Bede, and other writers to the eleventh century, meant modern Scotland; and becauſe it was found that this Scotia was alſo the Ierne of Orpheus, and the Hibernia of Cæſar and Tacitus, they at once find this Ierne to be Strathern; and, inſtead of a large and potent iſland, to be but an obſcure part of Perthſhire! Such flagrant inſults on truth, hiſtory, and reaſon, roufed up the indignation of the moſt paſſive; and White, Fitz-Simmons, Routh, Uſher, Ward, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, &c. &c. ſoon proved to all Europe the impoſitions of theſe writers.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. II.

The ſame ſubject continued—a new ſyſtem of Scottiſh hiſtory and antiquity—Mac Pherſon's Oſſian replete with anachroniſms, and the pains taken to impoſe it on the world for a genuine performance—Dr. Mac Pherſon's Diſſertations—Ireland the ancient country of the Albanian Scots; and theſe laſt and the Picts always conſidered as different nations.

IT is a remark of the learned Dr. Johnſon's *, that "a Scotchman muſt be a very ſturdy moraliſt indeed, "*who does not love Scotland better than truth.*" In no inſtances can this aſſertion be fuller proved, than in their labours to gain an high antiquity in Britain. Their imaginary hiſtory being expoſed; their generals, ſaints, and literati reclaimed; and the converſion of countries, and many pious and literary foundations on the continent being acknowledged to be the works of the only people then known as Scots in Europe, i. e. the Iriſh, their inventive faculties ſoon planned a new mode of antiquity. The Picts, it is agreed upon all ſides, were early inhabitants of Britain. To make theſe and the Scots one people, would at once ſecure to them a remote antiquity, and deſtroy all their connections with Ireland. What availed it to them, that in ſo abſurd an attempt they went retrograde to every evidence of Albanian, Iriſh, Britiſh, and even Roman hiſtory? The object was, the honour of the North Britons, and truth itſelf, muſt give way to this! To this glorious undertaking their different writers are called out; for,

"Græculus eſuriens ad cælum juſſeris, ibit!"

* Tour through Scotland.

The

The attack commenced by the publiſhing of different detached pieces, under the title of *Fragments of Highland Poetry*. Never did time ſeem ſo favourable for the advancement of their cauſe! The great check to all their former attempts—IRISH HISTORY—ſeemed now totally forgot. The principal nobility and gentry of Ireland, ſince the Revolution, with the hiſtory neglected the common intereſt of their country. The moſt violent outrages offered to truth and this lovely iſland, were unnoticed; and writers of all denominations, domeſtic as well as foreign, ſeemed to have a *charte blanche* for every thing ſaid or done. Theſe Fragments were ſucceeded by regular epic poems, publiſhed under the auſpices of Lord Bute, and countenanced by the whole Scottiſh nation. The main deſign of theſe and of the *Notes*, for which they were intended, was to prove the Scots and Picts but one people; though diſtinguiſhed by different names, and ſpeaking different languages; that they were the aborigines of Britain, who, giving way to new invaders, retired more northerly; that here erecting a new monarchy, and encreaſing in power, they ſent colonies to Ireland, by whom the country was in time conquered. The curious reader will probably demand what farther proofs were offered in ſupport of this curious hypotheſis? The immaculate James Mac Pherſon, and his worthy fellow labourer the pious Doctor (who only could determine this queſtion) tell us NONE! they were totally illiterate, (notwithſtanding the pains of Dempſter and others to prove the contrary); and from Iriſh and Saxon eccleſiaſtics they firſt learned that they were but a colony from Ireland; which from the authority of Bede, and their great veneration for theſe holy prieſts, they then firſt adopted. Theſe poems were ſucceeded by *Critical Diſſertations on the Poems of Oſſian*, in which every nerve is ſtretched to prove them authentic. But that the remark of Dr. Johnſon ſhould be verified in every ſenſe, A. C.

ſoon

A. C. ſoon after appeared the public affirmations of different Pictiſh gentry; one in ſupport of one part; a ſecond, of another; and ſo on of the reſt; by which means the whole of James Mac Pherſon's poems were declared to be the genuine and pure productions of Oſſian!

No doubt, too much pains could not be taken to eſtabliſh their antiquity, and depreciate the annals of Ireland, ſo hoſtile to Caledonian vanity. It is but common juſtice to declare, that all that could be done was done on this occaſion; and that Jemmy Mac Pherſon might cry out with Æneas:——

"——————ſi Pergama dextrâ
"Defendi poſſent, etiam hac defenſa fuiſſent!"

But though a Scot, for the honour of his country, might well conceive that regular epic poems, compoſed by an ignorant bard, might be preſerved by tradition *only* for 1500 years; though the bard of one family could recite but a certain part of them; a ſecond bard, another; and that it appears that a great number of theſe were conſulted;—in ſhort, that Mac Pherſon went from bard to bard, to collect from each his portion of this mighty whole; which parts he threw into the ſame exact order in which they were delivered by Oſſian himſelf—yet others not ſo cloſely intereſted in their ſucceſs, might doubt their authenticity. But to attempt eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of hiſtory, in oppoſition to all antiquity, on the authority of theſe poems, after ſo many former unſucceſsful attempts, proclaims highly the modeſty of the author and of his aſſociates. It is no wonder that the North Britons ſhould eternally rail at Iriſh hiſtory: it has been a conſtant obſtacle to their viſionary ſchemes, and, in all appearance will ever continue ſo to be; thus in the preſent poem, Oſſian has, with wonderful judgment, ſynchronized Cuculiin, Connal, Cearnach, Morni, his ſon Gall,

Gall, his own grandfather Cumhal, and his father Fion, A. C.
with the Danes; though the two firſt were contemporaries with Cæſar; though Morni figured in the firſt century; and that Cumhal fell by the ſword of Goll, in the next age! Though Fion and himſelf lived in the third century, and that the Danes were not heard of until the ninth! But what of all this? the author, endued with *ſecond ſight*, could eaſily pry into futurity. He was a Pythagorean, and of courſe could tell what bodies the ſouls of ancient heroes would reanimate, and probably what prodigies of valour they would perform! Mac Pherſon has declared this a genuine poem; and my Lord Kaims* as zealouſly contends for its authenticity as Blair, or any other of the coalition. However he repeatedly attributes its preſervation to nothing leſs than a *miracle!* a miracle then let it be. But, inſtead of flying to Scandinavia, as the poem was confeſſedly written in Iriſh; that Ireland was the ſcene of action; and that by Caledonian accounts the Iriſh were deſcended from them, had Lord Kaims conſulted Iriſh hiſtory, to illuſtrate this poem, as he certainly ought, he would perhaps be better enabled to form his judgment; for all the above heroes were the real ſons of Ireland; and their anceſtry, exploits, and the different periods in which they flouriſhed, are as well known at this day, as any facts in ancient hiſtory. Even in the twelfth century, Cambrenſis remarks how full the common people were here of their fabulous ſtories of Fion Mac Cumhal, or Fingal, of Oiſſin, and Oſcar, &c.

But notwithſtanding all the human endeavours of the Caledonians, aided by the ſupernatural interpoſition of Lord Kaims, theſe precious poems have by no means anſwered the propoſed deſign; yet the perſevering ſons of *impoſition* could not think of relinquiſhing the cauſe. John Mac Pherſon, D. D. miniſter of Slate, in the Iſle

* Hiſtory of Man, vol. ii. §. 7.

of

A. C. of Sky, devoted the leiſure of ſome years from the care of ſouls, to that of his country. His works were publiſhed in London, in 1757. He took up this ſubject on a more extenſive plan than his friend James. In vain, has he laboured, *(animated more by his love of Scotland than of truth)* by ſpecious arguments, by ſophiſtry, by falſe quotations, by miſrepreſentations of facts, and by a ſmattering in the Erſe, (a kind of PATOIS Iriſh), to invalidate the force of Iriſh hiſtory, and to prove that the Picts and Scots were really one people. But, as I have already examined this curious work, I muſt refer ſuch as think the ſubject worth inquiry, to that criticiſm for further information *. Too many props, no doubt, could not be demanded to ſupport ſo tottering a ſtructure; and Jemmy Mac Pherſon ſallied forth once more, armed with his Murus Aheneus, in defence of his darling hiſtorical hypotheſis. If we are aſtoniſhed at the eaſy confidence with which he miſquotes authors, and miſrepreſents facts, ſince then ſo fully proved, that he himſelf has been obliged to acknowledge both †; we are not leſs ſo, to ſee him in the ſame work *(Introduction to the Hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland)* fairly give up his beloved Oſſian, notwithſtanding the labours of Mr. Blair, the declarations of the Highland chiefs, and the miraculous interpoſition of Lord Kaims in his favour; for, ſays he, page 150, "In the preſent ſtate of the argument, there is no need of his (Oſſian's) aſſiſtance; "the fabric we have raiſed, *needs no collateral proofs.*"

This ſhort ſketch of the different opinions on Caledonian Hiſtory, I thought proper to lay before the public. Many volumes have been wrote, and much more learning diſplayed on the ſubject than it merited. That

* Introduction to Iriſh Hiſtory, part III. cap. viii.

† Whitaker's Hiſtory of the Britons.—Appendix to the Introduction to Iriſh Hiſtory.

the

the Scots of Albany were originally a colony from Ireland, the proximity of their country, their language, their ſurnames, and even their own confeſſion, declares. For a Highlander to this day, in the Erſe, calls himſelf an Albanian Scot; and it cannot be denied but that the only name in Latin for a North Briton is Scoto-Britanus; expreſſions which evidently point them not the original iſſue of the country, but derived from ſome other Scots; and where can we find theſe but in Ireland? That Fergus was their firſt acknowledged king, and began his reign A. C. 503, all our hiſtorians declare; and though his brother Loarn was probably poſſeſſed of as much power there, yet to Fergus only was the inaugurating chair firſt given. There is a very valuable old MS. quoted by the learned Uſher, and other Iriſh antiquarians, ſynchronizing the provincial kings with the reſpective monarchs of Ireland, (a copy of which I have in my poſſeſſion), in which Fergus is declared the firſt king of the Albanian Scots, and to be contemporary with the preſent monarch. Upon the whole, that the Scots of North Britain were colonies from Ireland, and a people totally different from the Picts, will not, I believe, be now doubted; that by the wiſdom of the monarch Mortough, they were firſt united under one head, all our antiquities declare; and ſo far from being known as a diſtinct body of Scots, even in the eighth century, the Venerable Bede then called them Dal-Reudini, juſt as other tribes were diſtinguiſhed at home into Dal-Fiathach, Dal-Gas, &c. from the names of their firſt founders. This prince Mortough, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, loſt his life at an entertainment at Mullach-Cleatach, near the Boyne; the houſe being intentionally ſet fire to, and he periſhing in the flames. A. C.

Aodh Caomh, the ſon of Connal, the ſon of Eocha Baildearg, a Dal-Gas, was king of Munſter. The Pſalter of Caſhill gives a large account of this prince. It appears

A. C. appears that Aodh-Dubh, the ſon of Criomhthan, laſt king of Munſter, would not conſent to his inveſture, until he delivered to him hoſtages, to ſecure his own ſucceſſion, or that of his ſons, after the deceaſe of this Aodh. This was agreed to; and Breanuin, abbot of Clonfert, and Mac Lenin, his chief poet, the father of St. Colman, were delivered up as ſureties to Aodh-Dubh, for the performing this covenant. This laſt Aodh, or Hugh, of the Eugenian line, was king of Deſmond, or South Munſter. Fergus and Scanal, or Scanlan, his brothers, ſucceeded him in this title, according to the Pſalter of Caſhill, and Book of Synchroniſms; ſo that he died before his name-ſake Aodh-Caomh. Feargus continued king of Ulſter, and Illan, king of Leinſter, who was ſucceeded by Cormoc, the ſon of Oilioll. Duach, in Conaught, and after him Eocha. Feargus, after him his brother Aongus, and ſon Domhangard, are marked as kings of North Britain, of the Iriſh race.

CHAP. III.

Tuathal Maolgarbh choſen monarch of Ireland—is aſſaſſinated—Dearmod elected to the throne—inquiry into the origin of the ceremony of anointing the monarchs at their inauguration—and Ireland's claim of precedency before any other nation of Europe.

TUATHAL Maolgarbh, the ſon of Cormoc-Caoch, the ſon of Carbre, ſon to the hero Niall, (as had been prognoſticated by St. Patrick, even when in his mother's womb) was elected nonarch. Except the lives of ſaints, and foundations of churches, we find in this reign alſo
528 a great inattention to public and political events. We read indeed of a fierce war carried on by Earca, the ſon

ſon of Oilioll-Molt (from whom the tribe of Firearca) A. C.
and the Lagenians, and of a general engagement enſuing at Tortan, in which this prince loſt his life; but are totally ignorant as to the cauſe of it. Feargus and Domhnal, ſons to the deceaſed monarch, waged alſo war with the Conacians; a battle was fought, in which the Conacians were defeated, and their king was ſlain. But what gave riſe to this war, muſt remain for ever a ſecret.

The deceaſed king of Conaught had a ſon called Cealach; but he having devoted himſelf to a monaſtic life, the friends of Guare, the ſon of Colman, cauſed him to be proclaimed king of that province. In moſt countries, and on moſt occaſions, there are ſeldom wanting factious and ſeditious people, ready to fiſh in troubled water, and engage in any deſperate enterprize, to promote their private intereſts: though Ceallach had long before the preſent event, ſolemnly renounced the world, yet partizans were not wanting to ſtimulate him to quit his monaſtery and proclaim his pretenſions to the throne. To gratify their ſolicitations, and his own ambition, he privately quits his cloiſter, and, at the head of a conſiderable party, proclaims his right to the crown. But the holy abbot Ciaran (who ſhould by no means be confounded with St. Ciaran, of Saigir, a precurſor to St. Patrick) hearing of this great defection in a ſubject of his houſe, pronounced a ſolemn malediction on him, if he did not immediately return to his cell, and make public reparation for the profaning the clerical habit. The poor affrighted monk immediately retires to his monaſtery, proſtrates himſelf at the feet of the ſaint, acknowledges his crimes in the moſt humiliating manner, and earneſtly intreats pardon and abſolution. We are told, that Ciaran vouchſafed him his benediction; but at the ſame time aſſured him, that a violent death could only expiate his crime. It would not, we may ſuppoſe, require

A. C. quire any great gift of prophecy to foretel, that the life of a perſon who once proclaims his pretenſions to a throne, eſpecially if well founded, is an object of great conſequence to his competitor. Guare (though in a monaſtery) deemed the crown tottering on his head, whilſt his rival lived; and found means, even in that ſacred place, to have him made away with; and thus the prophecy was probably proclaimed after the fact was committed. After a reign of eleven years, Tuathal was aſſaſſinated by the foſter-brother of his ſucceſſor, to pave his way to the throne; but the regicide ſuffered the puniſhment due to ſo atrocious a crime, being immediately cut to pieces by the monarch's guards.

On the death of Aodh-Caomh, which happened in this reign, Finghin, the ſon of Aodh-Dubh, an Eugenian, and anceſtor to the O'Sullivans, by the law of alternate ſucceſſion was proclaimed king of Munſter; and Forranan, a Dal-Gas, king of Thomond. Finghin, was a prince of uncommon intrepidity, as terrible in wars as amiable in times of peace. To the gallantry of the ſoldier he added the politeneſs of the courtier, and was particularly attentive to the fair; all which are compriſed in the following beautiful lines in the Pſalter of Caſhill:

" Finġin, buġ ġarġ, ba ġnioṁaċ,
" Do baoiṫ, ba ġaoṫ, ba bṙioġaċ;
" Do mn, ba mocċaiṙ ṙé mnaiḃ;
" Do ṫṙuaġ a ġeaṫ ḋa Conġṁail."

Deman, ſon of Carril, ſucceeded to the crown of Ulſter; Oilioll, and after him Guare, kings of Conaught; Cormoc, king of Leinſter; and Comhghall, the ſon of Domhangard, was king of the Albanian Scots.

Boniface II. John II. Agapetus, Silverius, and Vigilius, were ſucceſſive popes of Rome in this reign. Juſtinian,

tinian, continued emperor of the East, Childibert, king of France, and a great part of South Britain was now poſſeſſed by the Saxons. A. C.

Dearmod, the ſon of Fergus-Kerbheol, the ſon, or indeed I think more properly the grandſon of Conall, ſon to the hero Niall, was proclaimed monarch. Adamnanus calls him, "King of all the Scots ordained by God's appointment." "Totius Scotiæ regnator Deo autho re ordinatus eſt *." And as this holy abbot of Huy flouriſhed in the next century, it merits ſome attention. In the preſent reign, and for a century preceding it, Chriſtianity was in the moſt flouriſhing condition in Ireland. They had, as we have ſeen, received this doctrine from the Aſiatics. Theſe laſt, in many inſtances, adhered more cloſely to the Jewiſh cuſtoms than the Roman Chriſtians did. Though, from Conſtantine the Great's time, Rome had many Chriſtian emperors, yet the firſt inſtance on record, of a Chriſtian prince's receiving the crown by the hands of a biſhop, and the chriſm, (as the Jewiſh princes were inaugurated by the hands of the high prieſt), is that of Juſtinian, who was crowned emperor of the Eaſt by the patriarch of Conſtantinople †. The ſtory of the inauguration of Clovis, king of France, in the preceding century, and of the holy oil ſent from heaven to St. Remy for that purpoſe, have been long ſince juſtly exploded. Pepin, of the Carlovingian race, is the firſt prince in France, at whoſe coronation unction was uſed. As our countryman Virgilius, was at this time in France, and in great friendſhip with Pepin, it may perhaps account for its origin there.

As then the uſe of the chriſm was ſo much more early introduced into the churches of Aſia, than into

* Vita St. Columb. lib. i. cap. 36.

† Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 116.

A. C. that of Rome, we may reaſonably preſume that the monarchs of Ireland, where Chriſtianity was ſo highly cultivated, would not want a ceremony deemed ſo eſſential to ſovereignty; and that at their coronations they were annointed; at leaſt that this Dearmod was. And this will explain the remarkable words of Adamnanus. But we have ſomething more than bare preſumption for what has been advanced. For in the reign of Aodh, and not very many years from the period in queſtion, Adamnanus tells us *, "that by direction of an angel, Columba "was charged to conſecrate Aidan, king of the Iriſh, "or Scots of Albany. That he had a book containing "the form of ordination, which he directed Columba "to read, and alſo a bottle (I ſuppoſe of holy oil). "That he appeared to the ſaint three ſucceeding nights "in the ſame manner; after which Columba proceeded "to the iſle of Huy, ſent for Aidan, the ſon of Guaran, "*conſecrated him king; and, in the words of conſecration,* "foretold the flouriſhing ſtate of his ſucceſſors, whilſt "they continued friends to the family of Columba; "after which laying his hand on the head of Aidan, he "bleſſed him." In my opinion a much ſtronger teſtimony cannot be demanded, of the conſecrating our Chriſtian monarchs than this. If to a petty prince of the royal line of Ireland, and a tributary to our monarchs, as Aidan was, conſecration was deemed neceſſary, and by the hands of Columba too, who, as Bede obſerves, though himſelf but an abbot, yet preceded all the biſhops of Albany, it muſt certainly follow, that it was uſed by our provincial kings, but eſpecially by our monarchs. Nay from the words of Adamnanus, we may pronounce, that conſecrating our monarchs was before that time in uſe. Crowns of gold and ſceptres (other enſigns of royalty) were uſed by our princes and prin-

* Vita St. Columb. lib. iii. cap. 5.

ceſſes

ceſſes long before this period; nor did our monarchs appear in public without theſe enſigns of royalty. A. C.

About thirty years before the Chriſtian æra, when Maud, queen of Conaught, invaded Ulſter, ſhe appeared amongſt her troops in her chariot, with a crown of gold on her head *. In the ſecond century, the Aſion or crown of the empreſs of Cathoire-More, was ſtolen at Tara. Should any now doubt the exiſtence of ſuch crowns, I am to inform the reader, that no leſs than three ſuch have been found in bogs in this century. Two to my own knowledge, and both ſold in this city: the firſt found in the Bog of Culleri in 1744, in the county of Tipperary; the other in ſix years after, at Cathir Mechil, near Newcaſtle, in this country, in none of which was the croſs found, and all were formed like the cloſe crowns of the eaſtern princes †.

The original meaning of the word Imperator or Emperor, denoted no more than a general, or the commander of an army; and if Cæſar and the other emperors retained it, it was not but they knew and thought the name of King more honourable; but they declined aſſuming it, as it was a title odious to the Roman people ‡. In the Eaſtern empire, where monarchy was highly reverenced, the ruler of extenſive kingdoms was ſtyled king of kings. When Artaxerxes, king of Perſia, enjoins the reſtitution of the temple to the Jews, he directs his commiſſion thus—"*Artaxerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the prieſt*;" and Cyrus is called βασιλευς βασιλεων, i. e. king of kings. The title of Ard-Righ, or chief king conſtantly uſed by all our monarchs, imports exactly the ſame, and proves how well their pre-eminence was diſtinguiſhed.

It is a matter univerſally agreed on, that princes ſhould rank, not according to the extenſiveneſs of their ſtates,

* Tain bo Cualgne. † Harris's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 98.
‡ Titles of Honour, p. 11, &c.

A. C. but to the antiquity of their countries. Thus, in the conteſt in Lucian for precedency, even in heaven, betwen Hercules and Eſculapius, Jupiter adjudges it to Eſculapius, as having died firſt. Conſidered on this ground, Ireland ſhould have the precedence of every other nation in ancient Europe: firſt, becauſe it is the moſt ancient kingdom; ſecondly, becauſe it has been governed by a regular hereditary line of princes (one inſtance only excepted) for above 2400 years; thirdly, its monarchs may truly rank as emperors, being *the* ſovereigns of kings; and fourthly, it was the only kingdom in Europe which preſerved its independency when the reſt were enſlaved by Rome. Add to this, the extenſiveneſs of her dominion; *both Britains, the adjacent iſles, and part of the continent*, for a conſiderable time confeſſing her ſway. To this let me add, *even* a Roman evidence in ſupport of the rank and dignity of Ireland, namely, Celeſtin's creating her great apoſtle a *Patrician*; for a title it undoubtedly was, not a name; and a title which preceded all others but that of emperor, and which was *never conferred on any other miſſionary*.

It muſt be confeſſed, that Mr. Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, ſcarce vouchſafes any notice of Ireland, except when he can ſhew its great inferiority. Not content to make its kings ſubſervient to thoſe of England, he even aſſerts that they paid homage to lords of Engliſh creation! However, the learned of Europe have by no means conſidered this kingdom in ſo humiliating a light; for near 200 years later than the period he points out for this epocha, the ambaſſadors of England owed their rank and precedency in the Council of Conſtance to the title which the popes conferred on their ſovereigns as lords of Ireland. As repreſentatives of the king of England, they would not be allowed to take place or rank as the ambaſſadors of a NATION; the advocates of France inſiſting, that, as being conquered by the Romans,

mans, again ſubdued by the Saxons, who were tributaries to the German empire, and never governed by native ſovereigns, they ſhould take place as a branch of the empire only, not as a *free nation*: "For," added they, "it is evident from Albertus Magnus and Barth. Glanville, that the world is divided into three parts, Europe, Aſia, and Africa, (for America was not then diſcovered); Europe was divided into four empires, the Roman, the Conſtantinopolitan, the Iriſh, and the Spaniſh." But the Engliſh advocates, admitting the force of theſe allegations, claimed their precedency from Henry's being monarch of Ireland only; and it was accordingly granted *. A. C.

CHAP. IV.

Dearmod convenes the eſtates at Tara—invaſion of Conaught by the ſons of Mortough—battle between the Eugenians and Clan Breogan—another meeting of the eſtates at Tara; fatal effects of a private quarrel there—Dearmod makes war upon the king of Conaught; defeats him, and impoſes a humiliating ceremony, on making peace—character of Dearmod—death of his ſon—great peſtilence in his reign—Dearmod is ſlain by the king of Ulſter.

THE firſt act of Dearmod's adminiſtration, was the convening the eſtates at Tara, where the laws were reviſed; ſome rejected, others amended, and new ones added: the national hiſtory was alſo cloſely inſpected into. Soon after, Fergus and Daniel, the ſons of the deceaſed monarch Mortough, again invaded Conaught; engaged in battle with Oilioll, a prince of that country, in which action that prince and his brother fell, and their army ſuffered a complete defeat. From this, and numberleſs other inſtances in this hiſtory, it appears evident 539 540

* Acta Conſ. Conſt. See alſo an Engliſh tranſlation, vol. ii. p. 42, &c.

that

A. C. that the ſubordinate princes of Ireland made war upon each other without conſulting the monarch; that his power was greatly limited; and that he took not a general active part, but when applied to by the national voice; or that an aggrieved prince, preferring the way of negociation to that of arms, applied to him for his interpoſition. In this caſe, he ſummoned the ſtates; the affair was laid before them, and which ever party proved refractory, was compelled by force of arms to ſubmit: each prince being *then* obliged to furniſh a certain number of troops to the monarch, to enforce the
541 *national decree*. The next year a bloody battle was fought in the county of Cork, between the Eugenians and Clana Breogan, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; for it was but too common for different petty ſtates to determine by a general engagement, diſputes, often in themſelves trifling. The day of battle was appointed, perhaps at the diſtance of ſix, nine, or twelve months; in the mean time the parties on both ſides met, and tranſacted buſineſs in the moſt amicable manner; and the honour of the day was all the victor required.

549 In the year 549, Dearmod ſummonſes the national eſtates to meet him at Tara. What the particular object of this congreſs was, we are not told, but the fatal effects of a private quarrel there is handed down to us. Cuornane Mac Aodh had in ſome private diſpute killed another gentleman, who, like him, was a Brughadh, or repreſentative for a borough. To raiſe up the hand to ſtrike, much leſs to kill any perſon at Tara, during the ſeſſions, was from the earlieſt period decreed to be puniſhed by death, even out of the power of the monarch to pardon; nor was there to this time a ſingle inſtance of the infranction of this law. A moſt uſeful law it ſurely was, eſpecially amongſt a proud, warlike, and independent people. Cuornane, ſenſible of his crime and his danger, immediately flies to Feargus and Daniel,

princes

princes of great power, the ſons of Mortough. But A.C.
theſe princes, however well inclined, ſaw it vain to attempt to ſhelter him; and therefore diſpatched him to their couſin, the great Columba, imploring his protection, and that he might afford him an aſylum in his monaſtery. But a national outrage of this kind was not to go unpuniſhed, and Dearmod had the murderer ſeized and put to death, notwithſtanding the entreaties of the brothers, and the eccleſiaſtical privileges claimed by the ſaint.

No people are ſo dangerous to offend as churchmen. 543
Sequeſtered from the world, having no other employments but their breviaries and conventual duties, they have greater time for recollection, and brood over injuries, if not endued with uncommon grace. Columba deemed the violating his aſylum, the cauſe of God. High in blood, and greatly reverenced, he could not brook this inſult. He therefore applies to his relations, the Northern Clana Neill, and Fergus and Domhnal, at the head of a mighty army, bid defiance to the monarch. A moſt bloody battle is fought at Cuildreimhne; the imperial army is defeated with great ſlaughter; with difficulty the monarch himſelf eſcapes with life; and more of the credit of this victory is attributed to the prayers of the ſaint, than the courage of the ſoldiery!

Scarce had the monarch recruited the loſs of this battle, when we find him involved with Guare, king of Conaught, a prince whoſe uncommon liberality, munificence and courage, are highly celebrated in our annals. The cauſe of this war is ſaid, in ſome chronicles, to proceed from Guare's taking from a ſequeſtered religious, a cow, which was her only ſupport. She prefers her petition to the monarch, who immediately takes fire at the outrage. An aſſertion ſo ridiculous carries with it its own refutation. The event of this war proves ſufficiently that its cauſe was an object of much greater conſequence

A. C. quence—the not paying the provincial tribute, or acknowledging Dearmod as monarch. To enforce both, he raiſes a potent army, and marches along the ſide of the Shannon, we ſhould ſuppoſe to a little above Killaloe; becauſe the holy Comin, who about this time founded the churches and tower at Inis-Cealtra, on the Shannon, laboured as mediator between theſe princes. The endeavours of Comin to prevent this war were fruitleſs; and as Guare rejected all his remonſtrances, he predicted to him that his army would be defeated. The imperialiſts plunge into the Shannon, horſe and foot, and gain the oppoſite ſhore in ſpite of all the efforts of the Conacians; and now, engaging them on a greater equality, they were ſoon compelled to give way on every ſide. Though their retreat was precipitate, yet they formed again the following day; but, conſidering the inequality of the conteſt, and dreading to make his country the ſcene of war, Guare, by advice of his council, ſurrenders himſelf to the mercy of the monarch. The ceremony on this occaſion is ſingular, and deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, as I take it for granted to be what was uſually practiſed on rebellious chiefs; becauſe the intrepidity of Guare, and the acknowledged bravery and humanity of the monarch, leaves us no room to think that the laſt would commit, or his antagoniſt ſubmit to, too degrading a ſubmiſſion. But be this as it may, Guare approaches the monarch's tent, and, falling on his knees, preſents to him his ſword, acknowledging his crimes, and begging forgiveneſs. The monarch riſes, draws it, and commands him to lie on his back; he then places one foot on his breaſt, and the point of his ſword between his teeth; on which the other, in this poſture, acknowledges his diſloyalty, and ſwears fidelity and obedience during the reſidue of his life. This ceremony performed, he was elegantly entertained; and the cloſeſt amity ſubſiſted between theſe princes

princes ever after. Far from injuring a poor helpleſs woman, the hoſpitality, humanity, and charity of Guare are proclaimed, and the facts atteſted in the fulleſt manner; as well as the great encouragement he vouchſafed to men of letters. Like a ſecond Titus, he thought the *day loſt*, which did not afford him an opportunity of diſplaying ſome of thoſe virtues; and, as the fulleſt proof of his munificence and liberality, *to be more generous than Guare*, became a common proverb in Iriſh to expreſs a prodigy! A.C.

Guare, now reconciled to the monarch, thought the opportunity favourable to recover from North Munſter a conſiderable tract of territory, ſevered from the province of Conaught by the brave Luigh Laimh-Dearg, in the fourth century. Finghin, of the Eugenian line, did not long enjoy the throne of Munſter. On his deceaſe, 546
Dioma, great-grandſon to Carthan, a Dal-Gais, ſhould have ſucceeded to that crown; but it ſeems he had not arrived at the age required by the laws to govern, and was therefore laid aſide for the preſent, and Failbhe-Flan, brother to the deceaſed, was declared his ſucceſſor. This was certainly contrary to the will of their common anceſtor Oilioll; however the northern line gained conſiderable advantages by this conceſſion; for the archbiſhop and clergy of Munſter ſeaſonably interpoſing their good offices, it was agreed, that as ſoon as Dioma was of the age of twenty-five, he ſhould be aſſociated with Failbhe in the command of the whole province. But the territories of North-Munſter, from Sliabh-Dala, in Oſſory, to the weſt of Ireland, on both ſides the Shannon; and from Sliabh-Eibhline, Caſhil, Cnoc-Aine, and the river Feil, its ſouthern limits, to Galway, and the iſles of Arran, were to acknowledge no ſuperior, or pay chief rents to any other but their native princes. Beſides this exemption, the Eugenians were for ever to renounce any pretences to tribute, or ſword-land, over theſe ſepts of

A. C. of the race of Ith; and even of the Eugenian line, which the anceſtors of Dioma had formerly beſtowed lands on, in Deſmond, or South Munſter. Theſe were to be paid in to the kings of Thomond; and as an in-
550 vaſion was expected from Conaught, Failbhe alſo engaged to aſſiſt the Thomonians with all his power. I know, that it is aſſerted by Keating, and even in the late tranſlation of the *Book of Munſter*, that Dioma was abſolute king of Munſter when Guare invaded Thomond; and of courſe that Failbhe muſt have died: yet, in my copy of this work, it is *poſitively aſſerted* that Failbhe, in conjunction with Dioma, ſucceſsfully attacked the Conacians at Carn-Fearadhe, or Cnoc-Aine, in the county of Limerick. That the army of Guare conſiſted of three *very large and powerful legions*; (by theſe expreſſions we ſhould infer that each Cath, or legion, exceeded the uſual number of 3000;) that very few eſcaped the battle; and that amongſt the ſlain were ſix princes of Conaught. It is probable that ſoon after this battle Failbhe might have died, and Dioma continue king of Munſter.

This monarch is highly praiſed for his great attention to ſtrict juſtice, and for ſupporting the laws of his country. His piety and munificence are not leſs celebrated; nor would he ſuffer the ſmalleſt act of oppreſſion to go unpuniſhed; of this we are furniſhed with a melancholy inſtance in the death of his own ſon. Breaſal, his eldeſt ſon, had prepared a moſt magnificent entertainment at his palace at Kells, to which the monarch and the principal chiefs of his court were invited. No expence was ſpared on this occaſion; a beef of uncommon fatneſs, amongſt other things, was wanting; amongſt his numerous herds none was found in the order his purveyors could wiſh: a recluſe in the neighbourhood had one exceedingly large and fat; ſhe was applied to on this occaſion, but ſhe could not be prevailed upon to ſell it;

it; ſhe even refuſed in exchange ſeven cows and a bull, A. C.
expecting no doubt ſtill greater offers. Finding her ſo very unreaſonable, Breaſal's people drove the beaſt off the land without any ceremony, and dreſſed it for the entertainment. In the height of their mirth, when their retinue had withdrawn, this wretched women forced herſelf into the royal preſence; exclaimed againſt the young prince's injuſtice, and deplored her own defenceleſs ſituation in the moſt pathetic terms. The monarch, ſhocked at the recital, without vouchſafing to hear the defence of his ſon, ordered him to be inſtantly put to death. But in his cooler moments, and better informed, reflecting on what he had done, he grew melancholy, and had recourſe to St. Columba for advice; the ſaint recommended him to confeſs himſelf to St. Beacon, a celebrated penitentiary of Muſkery in Munſter, and to ſubmit to whatever penance he would impoſe.

The reign of this prince was marked by a moſt dreadful peſtilence, which overſpread the kingdom; and from which the religious, ſequeſtered in their cloiſters, were not exempt. It is remarkable that the plague prevailed much about the ſame time in Gaul and Italy; and it is from a remarkable expreſſion of this plague in Jornandes, that Voſſius has fixed the time of his publiſhing his works to 552. He at length fell by the ſword of Aodh-Dubh Mac Suine, king of Ulſter, and was interred in the church of Cluan Mac Noiſe, which he himſelf had founded, after a reign of twenty years.

Contemporaries with this prince, in Munſter, were Finghin and Failbhe, of the Eugenian line; and Forhanan and Dioma, of the Dal-Gas race; Guare and Feargus Mac Roſſa, in Conaught; Carbre, ſon to Cormac, in Leinſter; and Betan, and after him Dimhan, kings of Ulſter. Comhghall continued king of the Albanian Scots, or Iriſh, and was ſucceeded by his brother Gabhran.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. V.

Fergus and Daniel, monarchs—of Eochaidh and Baodan—of Ainmheric—of Baodan—is defeated in battle, and flies for refuge to St. Columba—an account of this famous apoſtle of the Picts—of the monarch Aodh—the parliament of Drom-Chette—the objects of its deliberations.

559 FERGUS and Daniel, the gallant ſons of the monarch Mortough, were next called to the throne. Enterpriſing and warlike, they commenced their reign with the invaſion of Leinſter, to enforce the payment of their famous tribute. The Lagenians and they engaged in battle on the borders of the Liffey, in which the provincials were defeated with great ſlaughter. Some time after, theſe princes departed this life, but whether by the ſword or
560 not, is uncertain. They were peaceably ſucceeded by Eochaidh, the ſon of the above Daniel, who aſſociated his uncle Baodan with him in the command of the empire. In this reign Cairbre-Crom, the ſon of Criomthan, of the Eugenian line, was a prince of great power in Munſter. He engaged in the battle of Feimhin with Colman, the ſon of Dearmod, and gave him a complete overthrow. He it was, ſays the Pſalter of Caſhill, who founded the biſhopric of Cloyne for St. Colman. Cronan, prince of Kienachta, on ſome private quarrel, attacked the troops of the aſſociated monarchs, and gained a ſignal victory, theſe princes themſelves being amongſt the ſlain.

563 Ainmheric, ſon to Seadhna, the ſon of Feargus, the ſon of Conall-Gulban, ſon to the hero Niall, was the next monarch. He is celebrated as a prince of great learning; but nevertheleſs fell in battle by the ſword of Fergus Mac Neill, who joined his competitor and ſucceſſor.

Baodan,

Baodan, the ſon of Nineadhadh, ſon of Feargus, and coufin-german to the deceaſed, was alſo his ſucceſſor. Being defeated in battle in the firſt year of his reign, and cloſely purſued, he applied to St. Columba, who was his relation, requeſting an aſylum in his monaſtery, which he granted; but his enemies, regardleſs of this ſacred retreat, had him dragged out and murdered. Columba, enraged at this profanation, incited his relations and the whole northern Hi-Neill race to revenge this outrage. A bloody battle was fought againſt Colman, the ſon of Dearmod; with what ſucceſs we are not told, but we muſt ſuppoſe to the diſadvantage of the latter, ſince he did not gain the monarchy, which was the great object of his purſuits. The violence of Columba's temper involved his country in great diſtreſs, about three years before the preſent period. Comhghall, the renowned abbot of Benchoir, of the royal line of Ir, had ſome diſpute with Columba, of what nature we are not told; but hiſtory ſeems to point out this laſt the aggreſſor: he calls his brethren and kindred to his aſſiſtance; the Dal-Araidhe riſe in defence of Comhghall; a bloody battle is fought, much blood ſpilt, but which ſide prevailed, we are not told. As this Columba cuts a conſpicuous figure in our hiſtory, and that, next to St. Patrick, he was the greateſt apoſtle on this ſide of the Alps, we judge a more particular account of him neceſſary. A. C. 566

He was the ſon of Feidhlim, the ſon of Feargus, the ſon of Conall Gulban (from whom to this day the country is called Tir-Conall), ſon to the hero Niall. Great controverſies have ariſen as to the time of his birth, and when he firſt landed in Britain. Without entering deep into them, both I think can be eaſily cleared by attending to acknowledged facts. He died at the age of ſeventy-ſeven, and remained thirty-three years in Britain. It was not in the reign of Dearmod he went there, as moſt of our annaliſts aſſert, but in the third year of the reign of

A. C. of Aodh, i. e. A. C. 569. For the cauſe of it is agreed upon on all hands to be this: the quantity of innocent blood he cauſed to be ſhed in the above battles, gave great ſcandal to the church and kingdom. A ſynod of the clergy met to excommunicate him; and St. Molaiſe particularly exclaimed againſt him. Columba became convinced; and whatever other penance was enjoined, we are not told, but one article was, that he was to quit Ireland, never to ſee it more; from this it is evident his baniſhment muſt have happened after the murder of Baodan, not before; and as Colgan's calculations ſhew *, it muſt have been in the year 569, to correſpond with 602, and of courſe that he was born A. C. 525.

His firſt education was in the North, under St. Fridian, of the Dal-Fiatach race, afterwards biſhop of Lucca in Italy. From this he was removed to the ſchool of St. Finian at Clonard, near the Boyne, ſo renowned for its erudition, that no leſs than 3000 ſcholars have been reckoned in it at one time, as Colgan and Uſher, &c. atteſt. Here he acquired a complete knowledge of the learned languages, and ſtudied divinity and the ſcriptures with great devotion; ſoon after which he embraced the monaſtic order, and was held in great reverence. It is probable, that his zeal for the honour and immunities of the church was what hurried him into thoſe extravagances, ſo fatal to his country, but his public reprehenſion, and his penitentiary exile, do great honour to the clerical order of thoſe days. On his arrival in Albany, Conall, king of the Dal-Riada (not Brudeus, the Pict, with Bede) beſtowed on him the Iſle of Huy. Here he eſtabliſhed his chief monaſtery; and from thence, with his followers, he entered the country of the Picts, and by his preaching, his precepts, and example, converted the whole country, ſo as to die with the glorious title of *Apoſtle of the Picts*.

* Trias Thaumat. f. 485.

Aodh,

Aodh, or Hugh, the ſon of Ainmher, was called to the throne. His reign is celebrated for a grand national aſſembly ſummoned to meet not at Tara the uſual place, but at Drom-Chette, in Ulſter. As ſoon as St. Columba was ordained, he applied to the preſent monarch, who was of his own blood, and *then* a prince in Ulſter, who beſtowed on him lands, on which he built a monaſtery, famous in his own days, and for centuries after, for the number and learning of its monks. Harris *, I know not why, from its Iriſh name of Daire Collum Chille, or Columba's grove, will have it be Durrough, in the King's county; contrary to the declaration of Adamnanus, and other early writers; for it was at a later period that he founded the monaſtery of Durrough. Add to this, that the poſſeſſions of this Aodh were centered in Ulſter, not in Leinſter. This prince was a zealous partizan of Columba, and ſupported him on all occaſions. However, his repeated violences (for the two firſt of which, I ſuppoſe, he made ſome public penance) could not protect him from the cenſures of the clergy; who, on the laſt occaſion, and even in the preſent monarchy, denounced excommunication on him, if he did not quit the kingdom. His ſubmiſſion, his reſignation, and making atonement by the moſt exemplary life, for his former offences, proved the ſincerity of his repentance, and extorted from his preceptor St. Finian, the following ſaying, "that his example ought to carry as many ſouls to "heaven, as his wars had plunged into hell †." A. C. 567

In the beginning of this reign, Colman-Beg, the ſon of Dearmod, raiſed a ſecond army, determined to diſpute the monarchy with Aodh. The two armies met at Ballach-Dathi; the day was diſputed with great obſtinacy. At length Aodh and Colman met, and fought hand to

* Writers of Ireland, p. 17.

† Vita St. Finiani, Uſher, Primord. Eccleſ. Brit. &c.

hand;

A. C. hand; but the death of the latter ſoon decided the conteſt, and with him fell 5000 of his beſt troops.

In 574, according to the Ulſter Annals, Aidanus, the ſon of Gabhran, was conſecrated king of the Albanian Scots, in the iſle of Huy, by St. Columba. Though the reign of the prince Aodh was long, yet we are furniſhed with no material political events, until his aſſembling the national eſtates at Drom-Chette; and even then, though this parliament continued its ſeſſion for fourteen months, yet the objects of its deliberations, as handed down to us, ſeem too ſmall for ſuch a period. We will then ſuppoſe that a reviſion of the national hiſtory and laws, and a retroſpection into the ſtate of arts, manufactures, and commerce, as uſual, employed the greateſt attention of the members. Theſe being the great and known buſineſs of our parliaments, it was ſuppoſed unneceſſary to mention them—but beſides theſe, Aodh had two other objects of great conſequence in view: the reforming the abuſes in the ſchools, and the compelling the tributary princes of Albany to pay their accuſtomed ſtipends, which had been for ſome time neglected. Notices were ſent to the different princes of Ireland, to Albany, to the Hebrides, and to the Iſle of Man. The aſ-
588 ſembly was very numerous and brilliant. The names of the chiefs who attended it are yet on record; amongſt others was king Aidan, in behalf of the Albanian Scots; and Columba, as repreſentative of their clergy.

Columba was attended by twenty biſhops, forty prieſts, and fifty deacons. As it may ſeem ſtrange to ſee an abbot *only*, waited upon by ſuch a number of dignitaries, the Venerable Bede will explain it, by informing us, that Columba and his ſucceſſors to his own days, though but prieſts, ſtill governed the hierarchy of North Britain *. But as part of the penance impoſed on Columba

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 4.

on

on quitting Ireland, was never more to see the country, A. C.
he evaded this by having his eyes bound up from the time he left Scotland until he returned. The nature of the first question propounded by the monarch to the parliament, has been by no means rightly explained by modern writers—some remains of these schools have subsisted even to the days of our fathers; and it was not the use, but the abuse of them, that was complained of.

CHAP. VI.

Privileges of the Irish literati, and their abuse in some instances—the Albanian Scots declared an independent people—the death of the monarch Aodh, and the archiepiscopal see of Leinster transferred from Kildare to Ferns—flourishing state of letters—of St. Bridget, patroness of Leinster—the number of academies, holy men, and pious foundations.

FROM the earliest periods, the literati in Ireland, as in Gaul *, enjoyed uncommon privileges; their persons being sacred, their possessions in all revolutions undisturbed, and their students and followers exempt from all taxations and military laws. We see, in Cæsar's time, the Gauls complain of the abuses of this privilege; and it has been the case in Ireland, in many instances beside the present. The Irish colleges, which were instituted for the instructing in the fine arts, the princes, the nobles, and the gentry, received also a certain number of students, who were devoted to the studies of divinity, history, genealogy, and poetry (for this last was a particular and a laborious study, on account of the various

* Comment. Cæs. lib. vi.

A. C. kinds of metre, and the rules to be followed in each ſpecies, examples of which may be ſeen in O'Molloy's Iriſh Grammar, in Ithuid, but eſpecially in colonel Valancey's.) The immunities enjoyed by theſe ſtudents, made numbers of idlers reſort to theſe colleges; too lazy to work, and too proud to beg, they found this medium to gratify both. Theſe ſchools were open from Michaelmas to March. In theſe days of ſplendour they were always founded in ſequeſtered places, ſurrounded by woods of oak; and this explains what Lucan ſays *:

"——Nemora alta, remotis
"Incolitis lucis."

Even in ancient Athens the ſame cuſtom was obſerved; hence the ſaying,

"—Inter ſilvas academi, quærere verum."

The light of the day was ſhut out of theſe ſchools, and they always ſtudied by candle-light. From May to Michaelmas, they abſented themſelves from college; the young nobility and gentry retiring to their friends, and the regiſtered ſtudents, like the military, being quartered on the country. The number of idlers, who claimed the protection of theſe colleges, became a real burden to the nation. For want of hands, manufactures were crampt, and agriculture injured. Theſe poor indigent wretches, not content to lead a life of contemptible oſcitancy, but having a knack at rhiming, they frequently perverted it to ſatire; abuſing whoever did not ſhew them reſpect enough, or refuſed gratifying their demands: for no nation of the world were fonder of praiſe, or dreaded ſatire more than the Iriſh. To confine the ſtudents in

* Pharſal. lib. i.

each

each college to a certain number, and to reſtrain the in- A. C.
ſolence of theſe hangers-on, not to ſuppreſs the colleges of the bards, much leſs baniſh them the kingdom, were what the monarch recommended to his parliament. For the regiſtered bards were ſworn to employ their muſes to no other purpoſes, but the glory of God, the honour of their country, of its heroes, of its females, and of their own chiefs. For the time to come, the monarch's chief bard was to be *Preſident* of all the poetic colleges in the kingdom; had power to appoint inſpectors to examine the ſtate of the different ſchools, and make what reforms he judged neceſſary, to enforce this reſtraining act. But his ſecond propoſal, namely, the paying of tribute, was ſtiffly oppoſed by Columba, and king Aidan.

Beſides a certain yearly tribute in money (but how much we are not told), Albany, the Hebrides, and Man were obliged, in all foreign invaſions, to ſend to the monarch ſhips and troops; ſo that it is more than probable, that if Aodh had met with the ſame ſucceſs in his ſecond demand that he did in the firſt, the conſequence would be an invaſion of the coaſts of Britain or Gaul. The great power of the Dal-Riada, as well in Ireland as in Albany, and the influence of Columba, had greater weight with this aſſembly, in this inſtance, than the remonſtrances of the monarch, or the dictates of ſound policy. The Albanian Scots were declared, inſtead of ſubjects and tributaries, the aſſociates and friends of Ireland, and were exempt from all taxation whatever, excepting only in caſes of murder, and devaſtations committed by the Iriſh Dal-Riada, when they agreed to pay their proportion of the Eric, or retribution, to be raiſed on theſe occaſions—but theſe Iriſh Dal-Riada were not to be charged with any Eric, to be paid by their Albanian brethren. Thus ended this famous aſſembly of Drom-

A. C Chette, and by their decifion was the Iriſh monarchy ever after confined to the precincts of its own iſland.

590 Soon after the diſſolution of this parliament, whoſe reſolves were ſo pernicious to the kingdom (and which proved the freeneſs of their debates, and how circumſcribed the power of the monarchs were) we read that Conall, eldeſt ſon to Aodh, invaded the territories of Colman-Rimhidh; but in the end his army was defeated, and himſelf was numbered amongſt the ſlain. In the year 594, Aodh raiſed a great army, which he commanded in perſon, and with which he invaded Leinſter, in order to compel the Lagenians to pay their tribute, the fatal cauſe of ſuch torrents of blood. In the battle, however, that enſued at Dunbolg, his troops were cut to pieces, he himſelf falling in ſingle combat, by the hands of Brandubh, king of that province. Soon after this, at a ſynod of the clergy of Leinſter, in which Brandubh preſided, it was agreed to transfer the archbiſhoprick of that province from Kildare to Ferns, in reverence to St. Maidog *.

In Munſter, Dioma reigned long, and was ſucceeded by Colgain, the ſon of Failbhe, an Eugenian. In Ulſter, Daigha, the ſon of Carril, and Aodh-Dubh, the ſon of Suine, governed: Colman-More, ſon to Carbre; and Aodh, ſon to Colman, ruled Leinſter: and Maolchothach, and Aodh-Abhrath, were kings of Conaught. In Albany, Conall, the ſon of Comhghal; and Aidan, ſon to Gabhran, ſucceeded each other.

595 Aodh, called Slaine, as it was croſſing the river of that name that his mother took her labour, ſucceeded to the throne. He was the ſon of the monarch Deamnod, the ſon of Feargus, the ſon of Conall; and he aſſociated with him, in the empire, Colman Rimhidh, grandſon to the monarch Murtough, who defeated the imperial troops in the bloody battle of Sleamhna, and with his own

* Primord. Eccleſ. Brit. p. 864, 965.

hand

hand flew Conall, ſon to the laſt monarch. In this reign A. C.
St. Auguſtine landed in Kent, in order to the converſion of the Saxon race, being ſent by pope Gregory *. In the year 596, Suine, the ſon of Colman, fell by the ſword of this Aodh, according to the Four Maſters; and in 600, he himſelf met the ſame fate, by the hand of Conall, ſon to Colman, as did his aſſociate by that of Lochan.

As to the ſtate of religion and letters in this century in Ireland, hear the teſtimony of Camden, an author who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality to us—"The "Iriſh ſcholars of St. Patrick profited ſo notably in "Chriſtianity, that, in the ſucceeding age, Ireland was "termed *Sanctorum Patria*. Their monks ſo greatly ex"celled in learning and piety, that they ſent whole "flocks of moſt holy men into all parts of Europe, who "were the firſt founders of Luxieu abbey, in Bur"gundy; of the abbey Bobie, in Italy; of Wirtz"burgh, in Franconia; St. Gall, in Switzerland; and "of Malmſbury, Lindisfarran, and many other monaſ"teries in Britain. For from thence came Cælius Se"dulius, a prieſt, Columba, Columbanus, Colman, "Aidan, Gallus, &c. †"

Amongſt the eminent perſons of this age, St. Bridget, of Kildare, merits the firſt place, for her high reputation, exemplary life, and numerous pious foundations. She was the daughter of Dubhtach, a Leinſter captain, and early devoted herſelf to a monaſtic life. Her charities were diffuſive and boundleſs, and could only be equalled by her piety and auſterity. She was born A. C. 453; and in 467, received the veil from the hands of St. Mac Calle. From this time to her death, which happened in 523, ſhe daily made new advances in every kind of ſpiritual exerciſe, and died in the

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. i. cap. 23. † Hibern.

higheſt

A. C. higheſt reputation for ſanctity. She was not only canonized after her death, but declared the perpetual *Patroneſs of Leinſter*, even in her life-time; for we read in her life, that Oilioll, the ſon of Dunluing, then king of Leinſter, being attacked by a very large body of the imperialiſts, called upon St. Bridget, which ſo animated his troops, that he gained a complete victory over his antagoniſt. Her feſtival is celebrated with great devotion on the firſt of February. How much more ſo in former times, may be collected from the following ancient diſtich:

"Brigida virgo potens, Februi ſibi, prima calendas
"Scotorum miro poſcit celebrata fervore."

The fame of her ſanctity ſoon ſpread over Europe, and at Seville in Spain, at Liſbon, Placentia in Italy, at Tours, Beſançon, Namur, Cologn, and even in London, churches were dedicated to her: in ſome of theſe places, her relics have been preſerved; and in all, her feſtival celebrated on the firſt of February *. In the dioceſes of Tuam, Alfin, Kildare, Dublin, and Liſmore, only, Colgan reckons about ſixty churches and monaſteries dedicated to her name.

Many works are attributed to St. Bridget by foreign writers; but the following ſhe certainly wrote: 1ſt. Rules for the Nuns of her own foundation; 2d. An Epiſtle to St. Aid, the ſon of Deighil; 3d. A Poem to St. Patrick; and 4th. The Quiver of Divine Love; or, of Pious deſires. Theſe three laſt works, in the Iriſh language, were in the poſſeſſion of the learned Colgan, as he affirms †.

Every religious foundation in Ireland, in theſe days, included a ſchool, or indeed rather academy. Such was

* Trias Thaumat. p. 624. † Ibid. f. 610.

the

the ſchool of St. Fridian, in which Columba received his firſt education; of Cluan-Fois, founded by St. Jarlath, where St. Brenden; of Cluan-Feart, was educated, &c. St. Fachanus founded an academy at Roſs, in the county of Cork, in this century, which ſoon grew to be a large city; and which is ranked by Ware as one of the principal academies of this age. He was a ſcholar, ſaint to the O'Driſcols, O'Learies, &c. But the univerſity of Clonard, next to that of Benchor, was the moſt celebrated: in it, under St. Finian, were no leſs a number than 3000 ſcholars at one time. Amongſt the multitudes of Finian's ſcholars, are reckoned the twelve apoſtles of Ireland, ſo called for their piety and learning; to wit, the two Columbas, the two Keirans, two Brendens, Comhgil, and Cnechus, Ruadanus, Nennidh, Mobhas, and Molaiſe. The number of religious only, in the monaſtery of Benchor, founded by St. Comhgill in this century, is aſtoniſhing. The great St. Bernard, a writer of the twelfth century, and too warm an advocate for papal authority to be an admirer of the Iriſh of theſe days, ſhall be my authority on this occaſion *. He affirms, that in the ſixth century, under St. Comhgill, or Congell, as he calls him, *the monaſtery of Benchore was a moſt noble one, containing many thouſand monks, and itſelf the chief of many monaſteries. So fruitful* (ſays he) *was it of holy men, and multiplying ſo greatly to the Lord, that Luanus alone, a ſubject of this houſe, founded no leſs than* 100 *monaſteries. This I mention,* (continues he) *that the reader may form an idea of the number of religious in theſe days in Ireland.* The zeal and piety of theſe holy monks, he tells us, was not confined to Ireland, but, like an inundation, their ſaints ſpread piety and virtue over all Europe! A. C.

St. Brogan wrote the life of St. Bridget, in Iriſh verſe, about three years after her death; and which life Colgan gives us entire, with a literal Latin tranſlation †.

* Divi Bernardi Opera, p. 1934. † Trias Thaum. f. 515, &c.

Nennidh

A. C. Nennidh, is ſaid to be a writer of Latin hymns and other works. He was a diſciple of St. Finian; and afterwards founded himſelf an academy and monaſtery at Loch-Erne.

St. Dermod wrote a litany in elegant Iriſh metre *, in my poſſeſſion, ſays Colgan. Geman, a poet, wrote a copy of verſes in praiſe of the great Finian.

St. Cogitoſus, contemporary with St. Bridget, but who ſurvived her for many years, wrote her life in Latin, extant in the Trias Thaumaturga. He was himſelf a monk, (ſuppoſed of Kildare) becauſe he deſcribes that town and church minutely. The work he addreſſes to the monks his brethren. Amergin, the ſon of Amalgaid, chief poet to the monarch Dearmod, wrote a book of etymologies, or an explanation of the topographical names of countries and territories in Ireland. This work the learned Lynch † quotes as authority againſt Cambrenſis, and as an authority then ſubſiſting. Probably from it Mac Eagan might have enlarged his Labhar-Breac.

That the ſcholiaſt on St. Fiech's life flouriſhed in this century, cannot be doubted, from his calling Armoric Brittany, by the names of Letania and Letavia; names which in the firſt book of this work, I have ſhewn it was then known by.

To St. Brenden, of Clonfert, many works are attributed by Bale; and St. Brenden, of Birr, Berchanus, and Dallanus, wrote different works in praiſe of St. Columba. This laſt wrote alſo another work yet extant, and in high eſteem, called Amhra Collum Chille, or the Viſion of St. Columba.

Ruadan, one of the famous twelve Iriſh diſciples of this age, wrote a Latin treatiſe, contra Dearmod regem; I ſuppoſe in defence of St. Columba. He alſo wrote

* Act. S. Hib. p. 52. † Grat. Luc. p. 132.

De

De mirabili Fontium in Hibernia Naturâ. The works wrote by Columba himſelf are too numerous to be here recited, but they are to be found in the Trias Thaumaturg. p. 471. St. Cannic, to whom the cathedral of Kilkenny is dedicated, wrote the life of St. Columba. A. C.

CHAP. VII.

The ſtate of arts and ſciences, in theſe ages, much more reſpectable than has been ſuppoſed—the archbiſhopricks of Leinſter and Connaught founded in this century—remarkable ſynod of the clergy at Clonard—many new biſhoprics erected—an account of ſome abbies, particularly of Benchoir, &c. and the manner in which the religious employed their time.

THE learned Dr. Warner cloſes the ſeventh book of his Hiſtory of Ireland with an account of Iriſh writers; and though he advances, that the learning of theſe days was not very great, yet, ſuch as it was, he confeſſes, that it flouriſhed with greateſt ſplendor in Ireland, and from thence was communicated to other countries. But though I am happy in acknowledging the candour and abilities of this gentleman, yet I can by no means agree with him in ſentiment on this occaſion.

From the liſt of Iriſh writings of this age, it is but too true, that moſt of their works ſeem confined to litanies and lives of ſaints. Yet one point they had in view, and indeed the moſt important, namely, mending the heart, and calling forth from their receſſes, philanthropiſm, charity, hoſpitality, and a thorough contempt of riches, the moment they became diverted from their proper channel. But beſides this, the learning of theſe times was by no means contemptible. The Iriſh profeſſors

A. C. fors were complete maſters of what are called the learned languages, i. e. Greek and Latin, and opened ſchools, as well in Britain as in Ireland, for theſe ſtudies. That they were highly ſkilled in divinity and church hiſtory in this age, I have but to refer to Fleury's account of our Columbanus, &c.* That they were alſo eminent in aſtronomy, his defence of the calculations of Anatolius, and of the Aſiatic cuſtom of celebrating the feaſts of Eaſter, proves. To this let me add, the arguments after this, offered by Colman, as recited by Bede† on this ſubject, and a work publiſhed alſo by him in its ſupport. Where but in Ireland, where he was born and educated, could Virgilius have learned the doctrine of the antipodes, and the ſphericity of the earth? theſe ſure are inconteſtible proofs, that to a knowledge of the Greek and Latin, of divinity and church hiſtory, the Iriſh profeſſors of thoſe days added mathematics, aſtronomy, and philoſophy. That poetry was particularly cultivated in our ſchools, and claſſical poetry too, I have but to refer to the writings of the famous Sedulius; and to the confeſſion of Aldelm, a writer of the ſeventh century, who was a pupil of our famous Maildulph, and the firſt Saxon who attempted to write Latin verſe. Where he acquired this knowledge, the following lines of his, quoted by Camden, will tell‡.

"Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita ſuperſit,
"*Aonis rediens*, deducam *vertice* muſam."

In no country of the world, was hiſtory, both natural§ and civil, better cultivated than in Ireland; and their chronology is more exact than that of any other nation.

* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. viii.
† Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. xxiii. cap. 25.
‡ Britannia, under Wiltſhire.
§ Introduction to Iriſh Hiſtory, p. ii. c. ix.

That

That not only the ſciences, but even the *fine arts*, A. C.
flouriſhed amongſt us, in an eminent degree, in theſe early days, when the reſt of Europe was involved in ignorance and barbarity, we have yet ſome proofs. As to ſculpture, witneſs the poem of Torna Eigis, preſident of the Iriſh poets in the fourth century, in which he enumerates the names of the different Iriſh monarchs, interred at Cruachan, and deſcribes the marble buſts of ſome of them *. In the life of St. Bridget, wrote by her contemporary Cogitoſus, he informs us from his own knowledge, that in the cathedral of Kildare, on the right and left ſides of the great altar, were placed the bodies of Bridget and Conlaïth, in monuments highly finiſhed, and ornamented with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones; and over which crowns of gold and ſilver were ſuſpended †. From this deſcription of this church we plainly ſee a taſte for architecture; and he particularly mentions many pieces of painting in it. To this let me add, what Cambrenſis himſelf confeſſes to have examined with aſtoniſhment; namely, that amongſt other relics and curioſities of the church of Kildare, he was ſhewn "*a Concordance of the Four Goſpels, by St. Hieroni-*"*mus*, wrote by or for the uſe of St. Bridget. The "margin was ornamented with myſtic pictures, moſt "wonderfully and animatingly finiſhed. The writing, "but particularly the capital letters, ſo highly orna-"mented, that, ſays he, *neither the pencil of an Apelles,* "*nor the chiſel of a Lyſippus, ever formed the like. In a* "*word, they ſeem to have been executed by ſomething more* "*than a mortal hand!*" You find in many diſmantled churches, even at this day, when carefully examined, remains of ancient freſco paintings; and to go no farther than Adare, in this county, you there behold many

* Keating, p. 1. Vallancey's Grammar, &c.

† Vita ſecunda St. Brigid. c. 35, 36.

figures,

A. C. figures, and ſome heads well done. Thoſe of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columba, are very conſpicuous.

As to the ancient Iriſh muſic, it is confeſſed to be original; and in what remains of it at this day, there is found a wonderful ſoftneſs and pleaſing harmony. The abbey of Benchoir got its name from the melody of its pſalmiſts; and when, in the next century, the abbey of Niville, in France, was founded, the wife of Pepin ſent to Ireland for doctors to inſtruct in church diſcipline, and for muſicians and choriſters for the church muſic. Cambrenſis, who viſited Ireland twice, firſt with Henry II. and afterwards with his ſon John, and who, from the ſtation he enjoyed, we muſt conclude was acquainted with the beſt muſic in Britain and Gaul in his days, yet declares the Iriſh muſic the moſt pleaſing, and its maſters the firſt performers in the world *. Mr. Wharton produces his authorities for affirming, that ſo late as the eleventh century, "the Welch bards received their inſtructions in Ireland, and brought with them to "Wales divers cunning muſicians, who deviſed in a "manner all the inſtrumental muſic that is now uſed "there, as appeareth, as well by the books written of "the ſame, as alſo by the names of the tunes, and "meaſures uſed amongſt them to this day †." This laſt relation furniſhes a reflection greatly in our favour, on the ſubject in hand; namely, the great ſuperiorit in compoſition and execution of the Iriſh over the Welch. For, as Cambrenſis was himſelf a Welchman born, and alſo biſhop of St. David's, their muſic, adapted to the Iriſh ſcale a century earlier, muſt be well known to him; yet we ſee the powers of harmony *ſoftened even his prejudiced mind*, and in this inſtance he has done us ample juſtice.

* Topogr. c. xi. † Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, diſſert. i.

In

In this century we find two more archbiſhoprics erected in Ireland. That of Leinſter, affixed to the church of Kildare, in honour of St. Bridget; except it may be ſuppoſed, that St. Fiech was appointed to that honour by St. Patrick himſelf; and that it was only transferred from Sleibhte, in reverence to Bridget, which I think was not the caſe; becauſe, in the days of St. Patrick, Ireland ſtill preſerved its ancient diviſions of Leath-Mogha, and Leath-Cuin; ſo that neither Leinſter or Conaught were ſtrictly deemed diſtinct kingdoms. Kildare, we may then ſuppoſe, was now for the firſt time declared a metropolitan, and Conlaeth, the firſt archbiſhop of Leinſter. About the ſame time, (i. e. the beginning of this century) St. Jarlath was conſecrated archbiſhop of Conaught. Palliums St. Patrick certainly brought from Rome, on his ſecond viſit there; but theſe muſt have been for the archbiſhops of Leath-Cuin and Leath-Mogha only; ſo that the firſt archbiſhops of Conaught and Leinſter, though conſecrated, had not palliums. We are indeed told, that in the year 595, and ſoon after the bloody battle of Dun-bolg, Brandubh, king of Leinſter, ſummoned a ſolemn meeting of the clergy of that province, at which he preſided. In this ſynod it was unanimouſly decreed to transfer the archbiſhopric of Leinſter from Kildare to Ferns, in honour of St. Maidoeg, who *was accordingly conſecrated archbiſhop*, ſays Hanmer (Chronicle, p. 64:) and which city, to the reign of Henry II. was the capital of Leinſter. This proves the regularity obſerved in the proceedings of the Iriſh clergy. Many other ſynods of our clergy are noticed in this century; but one amongſt theſe ſhould not be omitted, as it reflects the higheſt honour on this body of men. A. C.

In the year 569, and immediately after the third bloody battle, which the violence of Columba's temper involved his country in, a ſynod of the clergy met at Clonard, to deliberate on the public penance and puniſhment

A. C. ment neceſſary to be inflicted on this monk, for his repeated outrages. Some were for excommunicating him; but, on his ſubmiſſion, and promiſe of obedience, he was by public decree of the clergy preſent, baniſhed the kingdom, never more to behold it again; and it was declared, that he never could hope for ſalvation, until by his auſterities, his preaching, and his prayers, he had converted as many ſouls to God, as his violent temper had hurried to immature death; and thus was the converſion of the Picts projected, and happily completed by this great apoſtle.

Several new biſhoprics were founded in this century; as that of Clonard, by St. Finian, that celebrated philoſopher, who was of the line of Ir, and titular patron of the Mageniſes. Clonmacnois, by St. Keiran, of the ſept of the Arads. Clen-de, or the Valley of God, as it was firſt called, afterwards Glen-da-loch, or the Vale of two Lakes, was founded by St. Coemhne, or Ceivin, and to whom the church of that name in the Liberty of Dublin is dedicated. He is the patron ſaint of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles. St. Edan, or Maidoc, a deſcendant of Colla, called Uas, or the Noble, monarch of Ireland, and the titular ſaint of the O'Cinellachs, &c. founded the biſhopric of Ferns, afterwards, in honour to him, erected into an archbiſhopric. St. Brenden, of the houſe of Ir, and the patron ſaint of the O'Connors Kerry, erected at Hi-Ferte, or the Territory of Miracles, commonly called Ardfert, or Ardart, a ſee. His ſucceſſors were ſometimes called biſhops of Kerry. The remains of churches, abbies, and religious houſes, with inſcriptions, remarkable tombs, &c. at this day ſufficiently proclaim its ancient magnificence. An anchorite tower of 120 feet high, the fineſt in Ireland, and ſtanding near the cathedral, fell down in the year 1771; and as, in all human probability, it fell never to riſe again! I leave this memorial of it: of this noble city, the ancient capital

capital of Kerry, no other monuments but the above remain, except its being the ſeat of the earls of Glendor, an ancient family of this county. I have taken no ſmall trouble to aſcertain when Limeric was erected into a biſhopric; and, though out of its place, I here obſerve that it was ſoon after the arrival of St. Patrick, a proof of the great antiquity of this city. Its founder was St. Manchin; but of this name Colgan notes eight different ſaints, whoſe æras are very uncertain *. However, by the book of Lecan, I find, that our Manchin was the ſon of Seadhna, the ſon of Cas, the ſon of Conall, of the Dal-Gas race, and nephew to Blod, king of Thomond, in the days of St. Patrick. He was firſt abbot of Muimgharid, near Limeric; and, for his great piety and learning, ordered by St. Patrick to the inſtruction of his new converts in Conaught †. From this he became firſt biſhop and patron of Limeric. A. C.

Aongus Mac Niſe, founded, a little before his death, the ſee of Connor.

In the beginning of this century, Cork was erected into a biſhopric, by St. Bar, or Finbar, i. e. Bar the White, as he is called; and here I find a great anachroniſm in Harris. He makes him flouriſh in the ſeventh century ‡, whilſt he admits him to be preceptor to the famous St. Colman, of Cloyne, who was one of the aſſociates of St. Maidoeg, founder of the ſee of Ferns, and who died, according to Colgan, in the year 600! He firſt founded here an academy, which, on account of the number of ſtudents, ſoon raiſed it to a conſiderable city, of which he was conſecrated the firſt biſhop § and patron.

St. Colman, the ſon of Lenin, the ſon of Gancon (for there were many other ſaints of this name), deſcended

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 332.
† Vita ſenâ St. Patricii, c. 59.
‡ Vol. i. p. 556.
§ Acta Sanct. Hib. p. 607.

from

A. C. from the famous Lugha-Lagha, brother to Olioll, king of Munſter, founded the biſhopric of Cloyne.

Colman, the ſon of Duach, and chief of all the numerous ſaints of the race of the Hy-Fiacres, or of the O'Douds, O'Shaghneſſies, O'Heynes, O'Kilhellies, &c. founded the biſhopric of Ceill Mac Duach, ſo called from his father.

The great Finian of Clonard, founded the biſhopric of Achonry, which he beſtowed on his pupil Nathi *. The O'Haras were the patrons of it.

The abbies and monaſteries founded in this century are aſtoniſhingly numerous, and proclaimed the piety and liberality of the people. St. Columba, the patron of the O'Donnels, founded no leſs a number than 100 churches and religious houſes. St. Luanus founded as many, as St. Bernard notes; but the abbey of Benchoir, the largeſt, it may be ſaid the mother, of all the abbies in Europe, exceeded every other for the number and piety of its monks. St. Comhgill, of the houſe of Ir, and the patron ſaint of the Mac Geniſes, Mac Carthans, &c. founded this great monaſtery, in whoſe days, as St. Bernard notes †, were no leſs a number than 3000 monks, ſo diſpoſed, that the choir was conſtantly full of religious, chanting hymns to the creator, as well by night as by day; hence it got the name of Benchoir, or the harmonious choir. Nothing could exceed the regularity of theſe monks. The times of receſs from prayer, refreſhment, and natural reſt, were devoted to tillage and other uſeful employments (for they lived only by the products of nature, and the labour of their own hands.) St. Brenden, the ſon of Finlogha, and firſt biſhop of Ardfert, founded ſo many monaſteries in different parts of Ireland, that he is ſaid to have preſided over

* Acta Sanct. Hib. p. 396. c. xxvi. † Vita St. Malach. p. 1934.

no

no leſs than 3000 monks *, all of whom ſupported themſelves by their own labour. Nay, in the monaſtery of Muingharid, near Limeric, (anciently called the city of Deochain-affain,) were formerly 1500 monks; 500 of which were devoted to preaching and inſtruction; 500 more ſo divided, as to have a perpetual full choir, both day and night; and the remainder being old, gave themſelves up entirely to ſpiritual exerciſes. Mainchen, the founder of this monaſtery, as well as of the ſee of Limeric, and Molua, who erected Killaloe into a biſhopric, being of the royal blood of North Munſter, are the chief titulary ſaints of this ſept. Theſe we have given as a ſpecimen only, of the numerous pious foundations of this century; to which we ſhall add, that many of them were in the moſt ſequeſtered, and leaſt cultivated parts of the kingdom; and that through the labour of theſe holy monks, were theſe waſtes reclaimed, and made profitable grounds! A. C.

* Uſher. Prim. Eccleſ. Brit. 910, &c.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

Aodh-Uraiodhnach elected monarch—attacked by Aongus, whom he defeats—is slain by Maolcobha-Clearach, who succeeds him—Suibhne-Mean raised to the monarchy—slain in battle, and succeeded by Daniel; who engages and defeats Conall, king of Ulster—marches into Meath, to attack the descendants of Niall the Grand, who implore the aid of St. Fechin—a panic seizes his army, and he is obliged to make submission to the offended monk—death of Daniel—Conal-Cluon made emperor, who associates his brother Ceallach in the government—Dearmod and Blathmac elected monarchs—a great plague in Ireland.

A. C. 600 AODH, called Uariodhnach, (on account of an acute pain in his side, which seized him periodically,) the son (though, to correspond with sound chronology, I think, more justly, the grandson) of the monarch Daniel, the son of Mortough, the son of Muireadhach, the son of Eogan, son to the hero Niall, of the Heremonian race, was elected monarch: though infirm, and subject to great bodily complaints, yet neither the vigour of his mind, nor the activity of his body, were impaired by them; for, trusting to his bad state of health, Aongus, the son of the last Colman, conjured up a strong party against the reigning prince. A most bloody battle was fought, called Cath-Odhbha, in which Colman and his chief associate, Conall, son to Aodh Slaine, were numbered amongst the dead. This great defeat did not intimidate the

the enemies of Aodh. Maolcobha, called Clearach, A. C.
(I ſuppoſe from being originally intended for the church) appeared at the head of a more formidable army. The imperial troops met them on the plains of Da Fearta. The battle was well fought, and continued for a long time doubtful. The competitors at length met; Aodh fell by the ſword of his antagoniſt, and ſo cut his way to the throne, after a reign of ſeven years.

Maolcobha was the ſon of Aodh, the ſon of Ainmeric, 606
of the race of Niall the Grand. At the end of three years, ſome chronicles aſſert, that he fell in battle by the ſword of his ſucceſſor; but the moſt probable account is, that he peaceably reſigned the crown, and ended his days in the ſervice of the church *.

Suibhre-Mean, the ſon of Fiachra, the ſon of Mur- 610
tough, of the Hi-Neill race, was elected monarch, whoſe queen was daughter to the prince of Dartri, of the Oirgillians, (for there was another territory of the ſame name in Conaught). Daniel, brother to the abdicated monarch, made ſeveral attempts on the crown, but in his laſt was ſucceſsful. For having leagued amongſt others with Seangal, (called Seith-Leathan, or of the Broad Shield) king of Ulſter, he ſent his ſon Conall, at the head of ſix Cathas, or legions, (18,600 men) to his aſſiſtance. With theſe, and other choſen troops, he engaged the imperial army in the bloody battle of Traighbreene, and gained a complete victory, Suibhre falling by the ſword of Daniel, after a reign of thirteen years.

Daniel, brother to Maolcobha, was proclaimed mo- 623
narch. He is highly celebrated in our annals for his great piety, charity, and mortifications. We, however, find that his old aſſociate, Conall, as ſoon as he ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Ulſter, proclaimed

* Vita ſeptima Columbæ, lib. i. cap. 56.

A. C. war againſt him; and at the head of a large army, was advancing towards Tara. At Maigh-rath, the two armies met, and engaged. The Ultonians were put to the rout, and amongſt the ſlain, was the gallant Conall himſelf. This monarch is celebrated for many other victories over his enemies, as well as for his ſtrict juſtice.

In the partition of the large domains of Niall the Grand, between his children, as we obſerved in his life, the ſouthern line by degrees encroached upon the territory of Tara, the *Menſal lands*, annexed to the monarchy. To reſtore theſe to the crown, (finding negociation uſeleſs) Daniel raiſed a formidable army, which, from the purpoſe for which it was intended, was called Sloigh-an-mheich, or the army for partition; with it he marched into Meath. The ſons of Aodh-Slaine, the chiefs of the ſouthern Hi-Nialls, in vain oppoſed him with troops, inferior in number and diſcipline. In this diſtreſs they applied to St. Fechin, a deſcendant of their own houſe, requeſting his prayers and interpoſition with the monarch in their behalf. We are told, in the life of this holy abbot, that Daniel rejected his mediation, on which he was threatened with divine vengeance*. He deſpiſed theſe threats; and the night following an uncommon fall of ſnow diſpirited his ſoldiers, who ſuperſtitiouſly concluded, that this (which no doubt proceeded from a natural cauſe) was a mark of divine wrath, for rejecting the offers of ſo great a ſaint as Fechin. An aurora borealis, that followed this, convinced the empreſs, and the weak and timid, that this war was an unrighteous one. The panic runs through his camp: the monarch finds that he muſt make peace, or carry on a war without troops. Articles were ſoon agreed upon between the contending parties; but it was not ſo eaſy to be reconciled to the monk. The diſreſpect ſhewn,

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 137. cap. 34, 35.

not

not to himself, but to the character he repreſented, de- A. C.
manded the moſt ample atonement; and we are told with aſtoniſhment, that this great prince was obliged, in the preſence of both armies, to proſtrate himſelf before the ſaint, who, *with wonderful humility*, trod upon his neck, fulfilling thus the text of Scripture, "Super aſpi-"dem et baſiliſcum ambulabis, &c."

From the uncommon piety and auſterity of Fechin, I am ready to believe, that in thus inſulting majeſty, he really thought that he was advancing the cauſe of God and of religion; and had the church ſeemed any way intereſted in this war, ſome allowance might be made for an over-heated zeal; but as this was not the caſe, we muſt only hope, that ſome uncommon intemperance of the monarch (and it would be hard to ſay what it could be) made it neceſſary. We are furniſhed with no other accounts of him, except his ſending miſſionaries to Britain; but that for the laſt eighteen months of his reign, he was confined to his bed; which time he ſpent moſtly in prayer and pious meditations, receiving the ſacrament every Sunday. At length a period was put to his ſufferings on the laſt day of January, 639.

Conall, called Claon, or the Subtile, the ſon of 639
Maolcobha, was ſaluted emperor. He aſſociated with him, in the government, his brother Ceallach. At this time a war broke out between the ſouthern Hi-Nialls and the Eoganachts, of Munſter. The cauſe was this: Carthagh, of the Irian line, and race of O'Connor Kerry (who afterwards founded, or at leaſt encreaſed the fame of the univerſity of Liſmore) went on a pilgrimage to the borders of Meath, and there founded a religious houſe. The piety, auſterity, and induſtry of theſe monks, acquired them great veneration amongſt the adjoining inhabitants; but the heads of a neighbouring convent, jealous of their growing reputation, and look-

ing

A. C. ing on Carthagh as a foreign intruder, applied to Daniel and Blathmac, princes of this territory, to expel them their convent. This violation of hoſpitality and inſult to Carthagh, was highly reſented by the Mamonians. They raiſed a conſiderable force; a great battle was fought at Carn-Conuil, in which Cuan, the ſon of Amhalghadh, king of Munſter, Cuan, of the race of Finighin, or O'Sullivan, and the prince of Ui-Liathan, in the county of Cork, fell on the ſide of the Mamonians, and their army was put to flight.

Fluſhed by the fame of this important victory, the brothers formed the reſolution of diſpoſſeſſing the reigning monarchs. An accident accelerated the accompliſhment of their views; for Ceallach being unfortunately drowned in the Boyne, they raiſed a very large army; and in the battle that enſued, the imperialiſts were defeated, and Conall was numbered amongſt the ſlain.

656 Dearmod, called Ruaidhnigh, or the Charitable, and his brother Blathmac, the ſons of Aodh Slaine, the ſon of Dearmod, &c. were elected monarchs. In their reign, an invaſion was made from Britain. A 661 battle was fought at Pancti, in which the invader, with thirty of his principal officers, and almoſt the 662 whole of his army, were put to the ſword. Scarce was the nation recovered from this invaſion, when we read of a dreadful plague breaking out, which ſwept off numbers of the inhabitants, and from which, even the reigning monarchs, did not eſcape. It is called in our MSS. an Bhuidhe-Chonuil, or the yellow plague, as thoſe attacked with it appeared immediately as if jaundiced. The Venerable Bede takes notice of this plague; but by him it would ſeem to have reached Ireland from Britain. By our accounts, it raged here for ſome time before the Britains catched the infection *.

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 27.

Contem-

Contemporary provincial kings with the preceding monarchs, from Aodh-Slaine, according to the Book of Synchroniſms, and to the Pſalter of Caſhill, were the following: In Munſter, Feardomhnach, or Ferdinand, the ſon of Dioma, was chief king; and Amhalgadh, of the Eugenian line, king of South Munſter. His ſon Cuan ſucceeded, as king of Leath-Mogha, and fell in the battle of Carn-Conuil. Aimleadha, grandſon to Dioma, ſucceeded Cuan in the province of Munſter, according to the law of alternate ſucceſſion. A. C. A.

In Ulſter, Fiachna, Congall-Caoch, ſon of Seanlan, and Donacha, ſon to Fiachna, ſucceſſively reigned. Ronan, ſon to Colman, Criomhthan, of Cualagne, ſon to Aodh-Cear, and Felan, grandſon to Colman, ruled Leinſter; whilſt Uatach, ſon of Aodh, Colman, ſon to Cobthach, and Raghallach, ſon to Uatach, alternately governed Conaught. In Scotland, Eocha, called Buie, or the Yellow, the ſon of Aidan, his ſon Conadh, Fearchard, ſon to Conadh, and Donald-Breac, the ſon of Eacha-Buie, ſucceſſively reigned.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. II.

Seachnaſach raiſed to the monarchy—Ulſter invaded by the Picts, who are repulſed—death of Seachnaſach, who is ſucceeded by his brother—the Picts again invade Ulſter—Fionachta attacks the monarch, whom he kills in battle, and is ſaluted emperor—Loingſeach ſucceeds him—and is likewiſe ſlain in battle.

669 SEACHNASACH, the ſon of Blathmac, peaceably ſucceeded to the monarchy. The Scotch, or Iriſh colony in the Highlands, had greatly extended their frontiers ſince the reign of Aidan, being enabled to do ſo, by the powerful aſſiſtance given them by their relations, the Dal-Riada of Ulſter. To be revenged on them for this, and the better to weaken the Caledonian Iriſh, the Picts with a powerful army invaded Ulſter, where they were gallantly oppoſed by the Ultonians. A bloody battle was fought, called the battle of Feirt, in which, after a terrible carnage on both ſides, the remains of the Pictiſh army were obliged to retreat. Some time after, Seachnaſach, fell by the ſword, and was ſucceeded by his brother.

Ceanfoaladh, ſon to Blathmac, ruled Ireland four
674 years. In the ſecond year of his reign, the Picts again invaded Ulſter, ſpreading deſolation every where; and amongſt other inſtances of ſacrilegious barbarity, they deſtroyed the noble monaſtery of Benchoire, and put to the ſword, or diſperſed, above one thouſand monks there reſiding. His ſucceſſor, active and enterpriſing, raiſed a great army, in order to dethrone the monarch. By mutual conſent the time and place of action was appointed. The two armies met: the ſlaughter was dreadful on both ſides; but the death of Ceanfoaladh, by the hand of his rival, ſoon determined the conteſt.

Fionachta,

Fionachta, called Fleadhach, or the Convivial, the son of Donchada, the son of Aodh-Slaine, was saluted emperor. Though his reign was long, yet considering an age of erudition like that, the transactions of it, are not so minutely detailed as we could wish. The first act of it, however, was an invasion of Leinster, to enforce the payment of their ancient tribute. The Lagenians according to their usual manner, opposed it sword in hand. A great battle was fought near Kells, in which these provincials were defeated with great slaughter. St. Moling was at this time archbishop of Ferns, or Leinster, a prelate of noble blood, and highly revered for his sanctity. At the head of his clergy he advances to meet the victors. The clergy and the literati were ever sure of respect and protection from all parties. The monarch respectfully receives this venerable cohort. Moling, with great force and dignity deplores the distresses and hardships his country had suffered, and the torrents of blood that had been spilt from time to time, for about six centuries, to enforce the payment of a tribute, in itself both unjust and oppressive. That its continuance was in manifest contradiction to the express words of God, which says, that the sins of the parents shall not be punished beyond the third and fourth generation. The monarch being naturally pious and just, was sensibly touched with the many miseries the Lagenians suffered on this account, and therefore solemnly exonerated them from any farther demand of this iniquitous tribute. After this, it is mentioned, that Fionachta, was inclined to retire from the world, and take upon him the monastic habit; but was in this strongly opposed by his friends, who found out a medium to indulge his pious inclinations, and at the same time preserve the crown on his head, by having him entered of a religious fraternity. A. C. 678

To this moderation it is, that we may impute the many invasions of Ireland in this reign. For a large body 682

A. C. body of Britons or Welſh landed in an hoſtile manner, burning and deſtroying the country, not even ſparing churches or monaſteries, which they proſtrated and deſpoiled of their riches and ornaments, and timely retreated to their ſhips with their booty. Soon after this, i. e. A. C. 684, the Northumbrian Saxons, led on by their general Birtus, with unrelenting cruelty, ſpread deſolation through the country, not even ſparing the churches, "of that inoffenſive and moſt friendly people "to the Saxon race", as Bede expreſſes it *. However, at Rathmore, a period was put to their ſacrilegious rapacity; being, after much bloodſhed, put to the rout, and obliged to fly the kingdom. Soon after this defeat of the Saxons, and in the ſame year, (ſay the Annals of the Four Maſters), Adamnanus was ſent ambaſſador to Egfrid, the king, to demand, in the name of the monarch, ſatisfaction for this outrage, which was immediately granted. Bede mentions this embaſſy to Das-Adamnanus. After a diſturbed reign of twenty years, Fionachta fell in battle, on the fourteenth of November, which day the Iriſh church held as a feſtival, in honour of him. In this reign (ſays Adamnanus), a dreadful plague raged over Gaul, Italy, Britain, and Ireland.

698 Loingſeach, the ſon of Aongus, the ſon of Aodh, couſin-german to the deceaſed, was elected monarch. The beginning of his reign was marked with a freſh invaſion of the Welſh and Picts united, who miſerably waſted the northern parts of the kingdom. Soon after this, a contagious diſorder raged amongſt the horned cattle, ſo as to deſtroy moſt of them through the kingdom, by which the public were reduced to great ſtraits. This infection continued for three years. A. C. 704, the Welſh and Picts, again united, made a freſh incurſion into Ulſter, the better to diſtreſs the Iriſh colony in

*. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 26.

North

North Britain. The Ultonians, on their guard, by ſo many repeated depredations, had their military ſo poſted on the ſea coaſts, as to be ſoon united upon every emergency. On the preſent occaſion, they fell upon theſe foreigners, made a miſerable ſlaughter of them, ſo that very few returned back. Adamnanus, the celebrated monk of Huy, convinced of the erroneous time of celebrating of Eaſter at this time, returned to Ireland, and contributed largely to the reformation of his countrymen in this matter of church-diſcipline. During theſe accumulated diſtreſſes, the ſpirit of ambition was not idle. Congal, a branch of the royal line, formed a deep and formidable league againſt the monarch; having, beſides the partizans of his own houſe, engaged in his cauſe Ceallagh, the warlike king of Conaught. With a well-appointed army he attacked the imperialiſts at Cormin, and gained over them a complete victory, Loingſeach himſelf being among the ſlain. A. C.

Ainleadh reigned long king of Munſter, and was ſucceeded in that title by Eidirſeoil, the ſon of Maolmhuadh, an Eugenian. Maolcobha, the ſon of Fiachna, his ſon Blathmac, Congal, Fergus, the ſon of Aidan, and Beg-Baircbe, the ſon of Blathmac, ſucceeded each other in the kingdom of Ulſter. Bran Mac Conall, Ceallach, ſon of Gerrthige, Murcha, ſon to Bran, and Muireadhach his ſon, governed Leinſter; whilſt Loingſeach and Guare, ſons of Colman, Cinfoala, the ſon of Colgan, Doncha, ſon to Maoldubh, and Ceallach, the ſon of Raghallach, ruled Conaught in ſucceſſion.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. III.

State of learning in Ireland, and of the church—account of illuſtrious men and eminent writers, their works, and religious foundations—and of the part they took in the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity.

THE illuſtrious men, and eminent writers of this age are very numerous. St. Evinus, abbot of Roſmic-Treon, near the Barrow, which was founded by St. Abbanus, wrote the life of St. Patrick, part Latin and part Iriſh, which work is quoted by Jocelyne the monk *. Colgan publiſhed it entire, under the title of *the ſeventh life of St. Patrick* †. He wrote alſo the life of St. Coemghil in Latin, in which may be traced the original of priories, and how they became ſubordinate to abbies; for in it he tells us, "that after the foundation of Benchoir, by "St. Coemhgil, the ſubjects of his order multiplied ſo "faſt, that he found his monaſtery could not contain "them. He was therefore neceſſitated to build numbers "of houſes not only in Ulſter, but in moſt other parts "of Ireland ‡." St. Molua, called the Leaper, a diſciple of Coemhgil, and abbot of Cluan-Feart, in Ophaly, wrote *a Rule for his Monks*, in Latin; a copy of which was preſented to pope Gregory I. by St. Dagan, about A. C. 596; who publicly declared it a moſt excellent performance, directing the road to heaven, and therefore ſent him his prayers and his bleſſing §. Such the exemplary lives and writings of the Iriſh of theſe days! Munu, of the Northern Hi-Neils, the founder of an abbey near Wexford, from him called Teagh-Munu, was an abbot

* Vita ſexta St. Patricii, cap. 186. † Trias Thaumat. p. 117, 170. &c.
‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 192. § De Britan Eccleſ. Primord. p. 920.

of

of great erudition, but moſt zealouſly attached to the Aſiatic time of celebrating Eaſter. Pope Honorius addreſſed a letter to the biſhops, to the prieſts, and to the doctors and abbots of Ireland, exhorting them to a conformity with the univerſal church in this cuſtom of church-diſcipline *. A ſynod of the clergy was held at Legh-Lene, called the White Plain, near the river Barrow, on this occaſion. St. Laſrian, appointed legate by pope Honorius, appeared to defend the Roman cuſtom, and which I find, by the annals of this ſynod, called the *new ordinance*, whilſt Munu warmly ſupported the *old rules*. But after much altercation, the veneration Munu was held in for his ſanctity by this aſſembly, prevented them from coming into any reſolutions on this point; ſo the ſynod broke up. He wrote the Acts of St. Columba, and a Treatiſe de Paſcate. He died ſoon after, i. e. A. C. 634 †. St. Dagan, biſhop of Achad-Dagan, was a prelate of great piety, but enthuſiaſtically attached to the *old mode* of celebrating of Eaſter. He it was, that preſented to pope Gregory, St. Molua's "rules for his monks;" and was an active partizan of Munu in the debates at Legh-Lene. So attached to the old diſcipline was he, that in a viſit he made to Lawrence, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the ſucceſſor of St. Auſtin, finding him to adhere to Rome in her time of Eaſter, he refuſed, not only to eat at one table, but even in the ſame houſe with him ‡. He wrote, according to Bale, Ad Britannorum Eccleſias, lib. i. A. C.

St. Columbanus, of a noble family in Leinſter, after paſſing part of his youth at the public ſchools, was committed to the care of the holy Senellus, a man deeply verſed in ſcripture; and ſo much did he profit by his inſtructions,

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. ii. cap. 19.

† Prim. Eccleſ. Brit. p. 934, 937. Hanmer's Chronicle, p. 62.

‡ Bede, H. B. lib. ii. cap. 4.

that

A. C. that before he arrived at the age of maturity, he wrote "In Pſalterium Commentar. lib. i." Under the great St. Coemghill, he embraced the monaſtic habit, and was highly revered for his piety and learning. From Benchoir, with the permiſſion of his ſuperior, he removed to Burgundy in 589, where, in a ſequeſtered wood, he founded the abbey of Luxieu. In this pilgrimage he was attended by St. Deicol, St. Gall, and ten other holy recluſes. He was afterwards joined by many others. The ſubjects of his houſe encreaſing very faſt, he was obliged to erect two others, ſubject to the firſt, as IT WAS to Benchoir. Notwithſtanding his mortifications, faſting, and humble manner of living, (being ſupported, as were his brethren, by the labour of his own hands), yet his great ſanctity procured him numbers of enemies. He was accuſed by the biſhops of Gaul, of celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter contrary to the time fixed on by the univerſal church. Pope Gregory had a council of biſhops aſſembled on this occaſion; and his defence was learned and maſterly. In fine, he quitted Gaul, though preſſed by Clotaire to remain there, and was moſt honourably received by the king of the Lombards. In his journey he ſtaid ſome time in Germany; where, ſays Capgrave *, he erected monaſteries, into which, to this day, none but Iriſhmen are admitted. At Bobio, near Naples, he founded a noble abbey, which he lived to govern but one year, having quitted this life for a better, Nov. 21ſt. 615. He was author of many pious and learned works, beſides the foregoing; as, Regula Cœnobialis Fratrum, being daily regulations for the prayers and mortifications of his monks. Sermones, five Inſtructiones variæ. De Pœnitentiarum Menſura taxandi. De octo vitiis principalibus. Contra Arianos. Some other works of piety and morality he alſo publiſhed; but what raiſed againſt

* Hanmer's Chron. p. 57.

him

him the moſt formidable enemies in Gaul, was his book Adverſus Theodoricum Regem Adulterum. His elogy cannot be better pronounced, than by noting the many eminent men who wrote his life; as, firſt, Jonas the abbot, his countryman and diſciple, who undertook it ſoon after his death, at the public requeſt, at a time when the fame of his piety, learning, and miracles were well known and acknowledged. Capgrave, Bale, Surius, Baronius, Lippelo, Stainhurſt, Fleming, Colgan, &c. &c. have been alſo his biographers. For the diſciples of St. Columbanus, and their foundations, ſee Fleury's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. VIII. page 266. A.C

St. Murus, lineally deſcended from Nial the Grand, by his ſon Eugene, and of courſe of the houſe of Tirone, or O'Neal, flouriſhed in this century. He founded the abbey of Fathen, near Derry, which ranked for many centuries as a royal one; and was himſelf the great patron ſaint of the houſe of O'Neal. *This abbey*, formerly ſo nobly endowed, was in later times converted to a pariſh church, but ſtill retaining his name, as its patron. Amongſt the many works of this abbey, was preſerved even to our times the Acts of St. Columba, the apoſtle of the Picts, wrote by our ſaint *. A moſt ancient Chronicle of Iriſh Antiquities, highly eſteemed, was another work of his. The ſtaff of St. Murus, covered with gold, and ornamented with precious ſtones, is ſaid to be ſtill preſerved by the family of the O'Neals. To ſwear *Dar an Bhacuil-Mura*, or, *By the Staff of St. Mura*, was the moſt ſacred oath that could be tendered to any of this great ſept. His feſtival is ſtill celebrated at Fathen, on the 12th of March.

St. Gall, one of the diſciples of Columbanus, and of the ſame blood, was left behind him in Germany, to ſuperintend his pious foundations there. So highly

* Act. Sanct. Hib. page 587.

revered

A. C. revered was he for his ſanctity, that, though a ſtranger when the biſhoprick of Conſtance became vacant, Gonzo, prince of that country, wrote to him, requeſting he would attend a ſynod of the biſhops and clergy, aſſembled for the purpoſe of filling up that vacancy. St. Gall, attended by two ſubjects of his houſe, preſented himſelf to the aſſembly; who unanimouſly agreed to confer this great charge on him, whoſe learning, humility, and piety beamed forth ſo conſpicuouſly! But nothing could diſengage him from his ſequeſtered life; and being then requeſted to recommend them an holy paſtor, he named John, one of his attendants, who was accordingly conſecrated biſhop of Conſtance. After this he was called upon by his countrymen in Burgundy, to take on him the ſuperintendance of the abbey of Luxieu, which he alſo declined. He died A. C. 635. Though he choſe for his retreat a narrow cell, in the midſt of a wood, and ſupported himſelf by the labour of his own hands, yet ſo great veneration was his memory held in, that people flocked to dwell round a place inhabited by ſo holy a recluſe; it by degrees encreaſed ſo, as to become a conſiderable city. A noble abbey was there founded, and both are called, from their patron, St. Gall. This abbot is a prince of the empire. The life of St. Gall has been wrote by Strabus, Notkerus, &c. He publiſhed a *Sermon*, which he preached on the conſecration of his diſciple John, as biſhop of Conſtance, ſome Epiſtles, and a Pſalter, called after his name.

Jonas, at the requeſt of many holy monks, and for the edification of poſterity, wrote the Life of his maſter Columbanus; he wrote alſo Vitam Attalæ Monachi, lib. I. Vitam Euſtachii Abbatis, lib. I. & Vitam Bertolfi Abbatis; theſe three were diſciples and ſucceſſors to Columbanus; Attala and Bertolf in the abbey of Bobio, near Naples; and Euſtache in that of Luxieu, to whom our Jonas ſucceeded.

Ultan

Ultan, biſhop of Ardbraccan, wrote the Life and Miracles of St. Bridget. This work was publiſhed in the beginning of the laſt century, by Stephen White, a moſt learned Jeſuit and antiquarian, and from this copied by Colgan *; he alſo wrote a Life of St. Patrick. A. C.

Though St. Auſtin is reputed the patron ſaint of England, and the converter of the Anglo-Saxons, yet, as Rapin confeſſes †, the honour of this ſhould by no means be aſcribed to him alone; to the monks of Ireland, much more than to St. Auſtin, ſhould this great work be aſcribed. No one is fuller and clearer on this head than the Venerable Bede. Soon after the reſtoration of Oſwald to the kingdom of Northumberland, ſays Bede, he applied to the peers of Scotland or Ireland for ſome learned prelate to inſtruct his people in Chriſtianity ‡. Aidan, an Iriſh monk, of the race of Amhalgadh, king of Conaught, and of the Abbey of Huy, was pitched upon for this miſſion; which, ſays he, he executed with untremitting zeal and piety. This apoſtle of Northumberland, after converting that people, and governing their church for about ſeventeen years, died the 31ſt of Auguſt, 651, on which day his feſtival is kept. He wrote Commentaria in Sacras Scripturas, lib. i. Homil. et Concion. lib. i.

On the death of Aidan, Oſwin requeſted from the Iriſh nation a ſucceſſor, to govern and direct his biſhopric; and Finan, of the line of Ir, not his inferior in zeal, piety, and erudition, was conſecrated for this miſſion §. About this time the diſputes about Eaſter were carried to a great height: an Iriſh prieſt, who, from his zeal for conformity with Rome, was called by his countrymen, Romanus, had public conferences with biſhop Finan on this head; but though he could make

* Trias Thaumat. 527, 542. † Hiſt. of England, fol. edit. p. 79.
‡ Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 3. 5. &c.
§ Hiſt Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. 25.

A. C. no impreſſion on him, ſays Bede, yet others were reformed. But this difference did not abate the zeal of Finan. In the city of Admurum * he baptized Penda, king of the Marſhes, with the knights and peers that waited on him, and their ſervants. He ſent four monks to preach and convert the reſt of this people; and converted and baptized the king of the Eaſt Saxons and his ſubjects. He governed the church of Northumberland ten years, and died A. C. 661. He wrote in defence of the ancient time of celebrating Eaſter, Pro Veteri Paſchatis Ritu, lib. i.

St. Fiacre, inſpired with the epidemic zeal of his countrymen, retired to France; and in a wood, in the dioceſs of Meaux, built a monaſtery, which he dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin. He died the 19th of Auguſt, 662; and his feſtival is obſerved on that day by an office of nine leſſons, as may be ſeen in moſt of the Breviaries of France †. He publiſhed, ſays Dempſter, Ad Syram Sororem, de Monaſticæ Vitæ Laude, lib. i. Monſ. Bireal, ſays Harris, one of the French king's preachers, pronounced the eulogium of St. Fiacre, which is printed amongſt the ſelect panegyrics of that celebrated orator ‡.

St. Furſey, patron of the church of Peronne, in Picardy, is ſaid to have wrote a Prophecy, and ſome Hymns.

St. Alleran, called An-Teagnaidh, or the Wiſe, was a ſucceſſor to the great St. Finianus, in the univerſity of Clonard. He wrote the life of St. Bridget, which made a ſubſequent anonymous writer on the ſame ſubject introduce his work thus:

"Scripſerunt multi, virtutes virginis Almæ,
"*Ultanus* doctor, atque *Aleranius* ovans §."

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. 21, 22. † Hiſt. d'Irelande, tome i. p. 345. ‡ Writers of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 34. § Prim. Eccl. Brit. p. 1067.

He

he was also the author of a life of St. Patrick, published by Colgan entire *, as well as that of the famous St. Fechin of Foure, so inimical to the monarch Daniel; but his most celebrated work was published in 1667, by Th. Sirin, an Irish Franciscan of Louvaine, and the editor of Ward's Vita Sancti Rumoldi. It was transcribed from a MS. in the abbey of St. Gall, in Switzerland; the title he gave it was Ailerani Scoto-Hiberni, cognomento Sapientis, Interpretatio Mystica Progenitorum D. Jesu Christi. He is the patron saint of the O'Flaherties and O'Hallorans, &c. He died, according to the Ulster Annals, A. C. 665, and his festival is celebrated the 11th of August. A. C.

St. Cumin, of Connor, wrote (says Colgan, Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 5. n. 7.) a Treatise on the singular Virtues of the Saints of Ireland.

Cumian, called the White, of the house of O'Donnell, was abbot of the monastery of Huy. The disputes about the time of celebrating Easter were at this time carried to a great height in Britain and Ireland. The southern Irish had already adopted the Roman time; whilst their northern brethren were inflexibly resolved to adhere to the custom of their ancestors †. Cumian retired from the world for an entire year, to read and consider, as he himself observes, whatever had been advanced on this subject by Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Latins. A synod, he says, was called at Lene; and pious divines were sent to Rome, to see if what report said was true; i. e. that all other Christians but those of Britain, Ireland, and Albany, celebrated Easter at the same time. On their return, after an absence of three years, they confirmed this account, with this addition, that in celebrating this festival, the Irish differed from them an entire month. But the monks of his house

* Vita quarta Patricii. † Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 3.

A. C. highly reſented this defection of Cumian from the uſage of his anceſtors, and treated him as an heretic *.

St. Colman ſucceeded Finian in the government of the church of Northumberland. In the ſynod called there, A. C. 664, to determine this famous Eaſter conteſt, and in his relation of which Bede is ſo particular, Colman defended the ancient cuſtom; but the plurality of voices being againſt him, rather than ſubmit, he threw up his biſhopric, and retired to Ireland; here he wrote Pro Sociis Quartodecimanis, lib. i.

Three brothers, the one a biſhop, the ſecond a lawyer, and the third an antiquarian, formed from the different laws a number of deciſions, which were ſo highly revered, as to get the title of Bratha Neamhadh, or Heavenly Judgments.

Cionfaola, of the houſe of Ir, was a celebrated antiquarian; he wrote the voyages of the Gadelians, from their firſt departure from Phœnicia to their landing in Ireland, and ſome other pieces of antiquities, yet preſerved.

St. Maildulph, from whom Malmſbury took its name, wrote De Paſchæ Obſervat. lib. i. Regulas Artium diverſ. lib. i. De Diſciplin. Natur.

* Uſher Syllog. Epiſt. Hib. Ep. xi. Harris's Writers of Ireland, p. 37.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. IV.

Continuation of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and ſtate of learning in Ireland—Mezeray's teſtimony of the great improvements made in the manners of the people, and the cultivation of the lands in Gaul, by the Iriſh miſſionaries—ſaints of Ireland ranked in three claſſes—enumeration of Iriſh ſaints—affinity of the Celtic and Iriſh languages inſtanced in an ancient copy of the Pater-Noſter in thoſe tongues.

EARLY in this century, Dromore was erected into a biſhopric by St. Colman, but not he of Lindisfarren. Some time after Raphoe was raiſed to a ſee, and St. Eunanus was its firſt biſhop. St. Laſerian, who had ſo notably exerted himſelf in the famous ſynod of Legh-Lene, about the Eaſter controverſy, was conſecrated its firſt biſhop. St. Carthagh, of the line of Ir, and houſe of O'Connor Kerry, being expelled his abbey of Ratheny, in Meath, as already related, returned to Munſter with his monks, and found a generous protector in the prince of the Deaſies, (the anceſtor of the O'Felans) who aſſigned him the city of Liſmore, and a track of land, to ſupport his monaſtery. Here he erected an univerſity, whoſe fame and glory extended to diſtant regions, and ſoon filled it with learned men from different parts of Europe. In conſequence of this, it was ſome time after dignified with the title of an epiſcopal ſee, and St. Carthagh was its firſt biſhop. By St. Fachanus was Kilfenoragh erected into a biſhopric, and he was its firſt paſtor and patron. Another Fachanus founded the biſhopric of Roſs, of whoſe family were no leſs than twenty-ſeven ſucceeding biſhops, according to the Leabhar-Lecan.

The abbies, and other pious and munificent foundations of this age, ſeem to have exceeded the former ones. They

A. C. They are too numerous to be recited particularly, in a work like this: one particular, however, is worthy recording, namely, that as Ireland was now the only country in Europe in which arts and ſciences blazed in their full luſtre, it became not only the common aſylum of learned men from all parts, but ſuch as choſe to excel in letters, flocked here from diſtant countries, to become the pupils of our regents and doctors.—

"Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,
"Ivit ad Hibernos, ſophiâ mirabili claros!"

It was not enough, that Ireland became ſo renowned for the piety and erudition of her ſons amongſt the neighbouring ſtates, as by common conſent and pre-eminence to obtain the glorious title of *Inſula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, but her princes and great men founded the numerous univerſities of the kingdom on ſo generous and extenſive plans, that not only the foreign ſtudents were found in clothes, diet, and lodgings, but *even with books, then ſo ſcarce an article*, gratis! Bede *, amongſt the ancient Saxons, and Camden †, Spencer ‡, Hanmer §, Lhuid ||, Rowland ¶, &c. all of later times, agree, that here the Saxons flocked in ſhoals, to be inſtructed in religion and letters.

How much foreigners from other parts of Europe availed themſelves of this unexampled liberality of the Iriſh nation, without producing farther authorities, may be collected from the following lines on the univerſity of Liſmore, taken from the firſt book of the Cataldiad, or Life of St. Cataldus, biſhop of Tarentum in Italy, of Iriſh birth **, wrote by Bonaventura Moronus, a Tarentine born.

* Bede Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib iii. cap. 27. † Britannia.
‡ Dialogues. § Chronicle. || Archæologia.
¶ Mona Antiqua. ** Uſſer. Primord. p. 755, &c.

"Undique

" Undique conveniant proceres; quos dulce trahebat A. C.
" Discendi studium, major num cognita virtus,
" An laudata foret. Celeres vastissima Rheni
" Jam vada Teutonici, jam deseruere Sicambri:
" Mittit ab extremo gelidos Aquilone Boëmos,
" Albis et Averni coëunt, Batavique frequentes,
" Et quicunque colunt altâ sub rupe Gebenas,
" Non omnes prospectat Arar, Rhodanique fluenta
" Helvetios: multos desiderat ultima Thule.
" Certatim hi properant, diverso tramite ad urbem
" *Lismoriam*, juvenis primos ubi transigit annos."

Nay, so universally known was the fame of our universities in those days, that when a man of learning in Britain, or on the continent, was missing, the common adage was—*Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniâ!*

But this munificent liberality was not confined to students; the pious and austere Christians of other nations, who repaired to Ireland for their improvement in divinity and ascetic exercises, experienced the same generous reception, not only from different parts of Britain, Gaul, Germany, and Italy, but even from Greece and Ægypt, did holy monks repair to us, where they lived in learned ease, and died honoured and revered. The reader will form some idea of their number and consequence, from an abstract I have already given from a litany of the holy Aongus, a writer of the ninth century, who, on account of his employment of classing and writing the lives of the Irish saints, was called Hagiographus *. Nay, so much superior to their neighbours did the Irish then deem themselves, that in the Life of St. Chilian, the apostle of Franconia, we are told St. Fiacre, on meeting him in Gaul, thus addressed him: " Quid " te, charissime frater, ad has barbaras gentes deduxit?"

* Introduction to Irish History, p. 175.

Not

A. C. Not content with this, numbers of our ſaints, of the pureſt blood, and moſt exalted ſentiments, became voluntary pilgrims, and, like the Jeſuits in later days, devoted their lives to the reforming and converting different nations. They ſought not for gold or ſilver, honour or command; all theſe they had early at home ſacrificed to the ſervice of God. Their cells they built in woods and ſequeſtered places, and lived by the labour of their own hands only. From theſe they entered the cities and great towns, preaching and converting the people as much by their examples as precepts. The hiſtoriographer Mezeray mentions with aſtoniſhment the numbers of Iriſh, who, from thence and from Britain, entered Gaul, to inſtruct and convert that people. Amongſt theſe were Columbanus, Euſtachius, Gall, Manſuetus, Furſeus, Fridolinus, Fiacre, &c. &c. He highly extols their piety and learning, and proclaims the new face the country took by the *very labour* of their hands. Hear his own words: "It muſt be acknowledged that "theſe crowds of holy men were highly uſeful to "France, conſidered merely in a temporal light. For "the long incurſions of the barbarians having quite de"ſolated the country, it was ſtill in many places co"vered with woods and thickets, and the low grounds "with marſhes. Theſe pious religious, who devoted "themſelves to the ſervice of God, not to a life of in"dolence, laboured with their own hands, to grub up, "to reclaim, to till, to plant, and to build, not ſo much "for themſelves, who lived with great frugality, but "to feed and cheriſh the poor; inſomuch, that uncul"tivated and frightful deſerts ſoon became agreeable "and fruitful dwellings. The heavens ſeem to favour "the ſoil, reclaimed and cultivated by hands ſo pure "and diſintereſted. I ſhall ſay nothing of their *having* "*preſerved almoſt all that remains of the Hiſtory of thoſe* "*times.*"

"*times**." What a picture of real piety! The frightful waſtes of Italy and Germany were alike reclaimed, and the people inſtructed in religion, frugality, and induſtry! Amongſt the Iriſh apoſtles of Italy, were Cataldus, Donatus, Columbanus, Frigidianus, &c. and in Germany were St. Gall, Fridolinus, Deicola, Kilian, Fintan, Albertus, Rupertus, &c. in Armoric Brittany, Geldaſius, Briochus, &c. Folianus was martyred in Flanders, where a monaſtery was built and dedicated to his name. Fridegond, converted the people of Antwerp, where to this day, his memory is greatly revered. Authbert, biſhop of Cambray, converted Hannonia, and is ſtyled the apoſtle of Flanders. Rumoldus, archbiſhop of Dublin, is the patron of Mechlin. Columba is the apoſtle of Scotland; and it needs not to be recapitulated, how much South Britain was indebted to us for religion, for arts, and for letters. A. C.

The flouriſhing ſtate of the Iriſh church may be collected from the very old litanies, yet preſerved†. Their ſaints were divided into three diſtinct claſſes: the firſt were called the Moſt Holy: this comprehended St. Patrick, and 350 biſhops of his ordination. In the ſecond claſs, or the More Holy, were 300 prieſts and holy doctors of the church, but very few biſhops. The third, or Holy Order, was compoſed chiefly of holy monks and anchorites. Theſe built their cells in woods and deſert places, living on an antediluvian diet, and making it a part of their vows, to reclaim and cultivate theſe deſerts, not for their own, but the emolument of the poor‡. From this it is, that we are indebted for ſo many commons adjacent to old abbies and monaſteries; for the ground, originally waſte and barren, was claimed

* Hiſtorie de la France, tom. i. p. 117.
† Vita St. Rumold. p. 204, &c.
‡ Primord, Eccleſ. Brit. p. 513, &c.

by

A. C. by no one; and when the ſucceſſors to theſe abbies began to relax from the ſeverity of their firſt inſtitution, they gave up the reclaimed land for the uſe of the poor of the place. Thus the reader will perceive what unexampled piety pervaded the different orders in the Iriſh hierarchy! So amazingly great were the numbers of our ſaints, that, in the iſlands of Ara, for inſtance, their conflux was ſo rapid, that in the old litanies, after invoking the principals of them, it concludes with—"and "all the other ſaints *here* deceaſed, whoſe numbers are "ſo great, as to be known to the living God only." Succeeding writers were obliged to claſs theſe ſaints according to their names. There were four Colgas, ten of the name of Gobhan, twelve Dichulls, twelve Maidocs, twelve Adrands, thirteen Camans, thirteen Dimins, fourteen Brendens, fourteen Finians, fourteen Ronans, fifteen Conalls, fifteen Dermods, fifteen Lugads, ſixteen Laſſaræ, ſeventeen Serrani, eighteen Ernini, eighteen Folbei, eighteen Cominei, nineteen Foilani, nineteen Sullani, twenty Kierani, twenty Ultani, twenty-two Cilliani, twenty-three Aidi, twenty-four Columbæ, twenty-four Brigidæ, twenty-five Senani, twenty-eight Aidani, thirty Cronani, thirty-ſeven Moluani, forty-three Lafreani, thirty-four Mochumii, fifty-eight Mochuani, fifty-five Fintani, ſixty Cormocs, and two hundred Colmani.

We muſt ſuppoſe, that in a country, which was for ſome ages the centre of arts and ſciences, to which not only the youth from neighbouring, as well as diſtant nations, reſorted for inſtruction, but the more enlightened, for edification; whoſe ſons, not contented with affording an aſylum to theſe ſtrangers at home, generouſly braved the dangers of winds and waves, and more mercileſs barbarians, to ſpread religion and letters far and wide—we muſt, I ſay, ſuppoſe that their language alſo became

became pretty univerſal. Should we doubt this, there A. C.
are proofs that it did. For the Venerable Bede tells us *, that when our biſhop Aidan, was ſent to convert the Northumbrians, being ignorant of the Saxon tongue, he preached and inſtructed in the Iriſh language, which king Oſwin explained to the people. Numbers of monks were in his retinue, who, we muſt ſuppoſe, uſed no other tongue; nay, there is more than preſumption for advancing, that thirty years after, his ſucceſſors in Britain made uſe of the ſame language; for in the famous ſynod aſſembled to determine the true time of holding the Eaſter feſtival, and which was compoſed of different nations, we read that biſhop Ceadda, was appointed interpreter between the Iriſh biſhop Colman, his Clergy, and theſe people †. From theſe acknowledged facts in Britain, we may infer, that they were often, on the continent, obliged to look out for faithful interpreters between them and the people. This being the caſe, the prayers and chriſtian doctrine in the Iriſh, in all probability, became pretty univerſal on the continent; and this will at once explain the Celtic Pater-noſter, and be a farther additional proof of the truth of our records at this period.

The learned Dr. Raymond, about the beginning of the preſent century, a fellow of the univerſity of Dublin, was profoundly ſkilled in the antiquities of his country. Lhuid ‡ had, before him, demonſtrated that the Iriſh language was the true gloſſary to the obſcure words and names in the Celtic, as handed down to us by Pezron, Menage, &c. and the doctor luckily met with *a very ancient Celtic Pater-noſter*, which he found to be pure Iriſh, and which he judged to be the higheſt proof of our early

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. ii. cap. 3.
† Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 23. ‡ Archæologia.

acquaintance

A. C. acquaintance with letters *. This prayer has been republiſhed by Mr. O'Connor †, Dr. Warner ‡, and Lord Lyttleton §; and it is offered as a proof of a general Celtic language.

Nothing appears to me more repugnant to both reaſon and hiſtory than the generally received opinion of an univerſal tongue. Moſes, one of the earlieſt hiſtorians in the world, is as full on this point as poſſible. Cæſar tells us ‖, that in his days, there were three different languages ſpoke in Gaul; and Bede affirms, that the languages of Britain, in his time, were the Britiſh, Saxon, Iriſh, and Pictiſh. To this let me add, that even admitting an early and univerſal Celtic, yet how far does the prayer in queſtion, being found to be pure Iriſh, prove this? The Iriſh are, beyond controverſy, a Scythian, not a Celtic colony; the deſcendants of Magog, not of Gomer. Their languages therefore were *immediately* after the general diſperſion of mankind different. The remarks of Llhuid, and the prayer in queſtion, prove evidently what hiſtory has advanced, and no more; namely, that the early Iriſh often inſtructed, both in Britain, Gaul, and Germany, in their native tongue; and that numbers, particularly amongſt the literati, preſerved theſe prayers, and handed them down to their ſucceſſors. This is the evident induction from the premiſes; and it is remarkable enough, that in all the ravages and revolutions of ſubſequent times, ſo ſingular a piece of antiquity, and ſo honourable a teſtimony of the truth of Iriſh hiſtory, ſhould be preſerved to this day! Here follows this ancient prayer, and the ſame in Iriſh.

* Introduction to the Hiſtory of Ireland.

† Diſſertations on Iriſh Hiſtory. ‡ Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. i.

§ Life of Henry II. ‖ De Bello Gallic. lib. i. cap. 1.

THE

A. C.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

The ſuppoſed CELTIC or Continental one.

1. Our narme ata ar neamb.'
2. Beanie a tanim.
3. Go diga do riogda.
4. Go denta du hoil air talm, in marte ar' neamb.'
5. Tabuar deim a niugh ar naran limb' ali.
6. Agus mai duine ar fiach amhail pear marmhid ar fiacha.
7. Na leig fin amb'aribh ach ſaor ſa ſhin on ole.
8. Or fletſa rioghta, comtha, agus gloir go fibhri—Amen.

IRISH.

1. Ár' natoir ata ar neain,
2. Beannatair a tainm (*or* naomtar hainim)
3. Tigiod do riogdct.
4. Deantar do toil air an talaim, mar do gnitear air neam:
5. Ar naran laetheamhail, tabar dhuin aniud.
6. Agus mait dhuin ar briacha, mar maitmidne d'ar feitheamhnaib fein.
7. Agus na leig inn a gcathugad af faor inn ó olc.
8. Oir is leat fein a riogdaf, agus an cumaf, agus an gloir go fiorruighe.—Amen.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. V.

Conghal, ſon of Fergus elected monarch of Ireland—ſucceeded by Fearghal—who attempts to exact tribute from the Lagenians; and is ſlain in the battle of Almhuin—Fogartach raiſed to the monarchy—ſucceeded by Cionaoth-Flabhertach; who reſigns the throne, and retires to a monaſtery—ſucceeded by Aodh-Ollan—a ſynod at Tirdaglas—battle of Athſeanuigh.

706 CONGHAL, the ſon of Fergus, of the race of Conall-Gulban, and line of Heremon, was proclaimed monarch. He is repreſented by Lynch * as a warlike prince, and at the ſame time a cruel one. Keating tells us, that he was a great perſecutor of the clergy; however, it is pretty remarkable, that the Roimniogra of Giolla Moduda, proclaims him a moſt beneficent prince, in whoſe adminiſtration there was neither battle or conteſt, and that he died in peace, after a reign of ſeven years. This laſt writer died about A. C. 1148.

713 Fearghal, the ſon of Maolduin, ſon to Maolfithrich, ſon to Aodh-Uariodhnach, of the Heremonians, ſucceeded to the crown. In the beginning of his reign, the Welſh and Picts in conjunction, invaded the northern parts of Ireland, committing great outrages; the Ultonians, however, ſoon collected a good body of troops, and fought for, and overtook the enemy: a moſt bloody engagement enſued, in which for ſome hours its ſucceſs ſeemed uncertain; at length theſe aliens gave way, after the loſs of almoſt the whole of their army. This, by our writers, is called the Battle of Cloch-Mionuire.

* Cambr. Everſ. p. 77.

From

From this period to the battle of Almhuin, we meet with nothing intereſting. Fionachta, in the laſt century, by the exhortations of St. Moling, had exempted the Lagenians from the payment of any farther tribute. The preſent prince was, however, reſolved to enforce it; for which purpoſe, at the head of 21,000 choſen troops, he invaded Leinſter. Murrough, king of Leinſter, aſſembled what troops the ſuddenneſs of the notice could afford him. They amounted to no more than 9000 ſtrong. With theſe he engaged the imperialiſts at Almhuin, and gained a complete victory, notwithſtanding the great diſproportion of troops. Our writers attribute this great ſucceſs to the execrations of an hermit, who had been ill treated by ſome of Fearghal's people, and to their plundering the church of Cillin of its plate. It is certain, that the invaders were ſeized with an unuſual panic, at the very firſt onſet; which I am readier to attribute to the exhortations of this hermit, in upbraiding Fearghal and his people, for wantonly breaking through the ſolemn engagement made by Fionachta, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, no more to invade Leinſter on this ſcore. In this battle, beſides many thouſand men, there fell the monarch himſelf, with 160 ſelect knights. A. C.

Fogartach, deſcended from Aodh-Slaine, was the next monarch; but who fell in the battle of Beilge, by the ſword of his ſucceſſor. 723

Cionaoth, the ſon of Jorgalaigh, of the ſame houſe, aſcended the throne. A formidable competitor ſoon aroſe; the armies met at Drum-Curan; in this battle the troops of Cionaoth received a complete overthrow, and he himſelf was amongſt the ſlain. 724

Flabhertach, the ſon of Loingſeach, of the houſe of Aodh-Ainmheric became monarch. Aodh-Roin, king of Ulſter, oppreſſed greatly the clergy of that province. Some of his followers had taken conſecrated veſſels out of many of the churches; and Congus, primate of Ireland, 727

A. C. Ireland, and confeſſor to Aodh-Ollan, ſtimulated this prince, by a poem he addreſſed to him, to revenge the cauſe of the church. He accordingly invaded Ulſter. The armies met at Muirtheimhne, in the county of Lowth, and Aodh-Roin's troops were defeated, and himſelf ſlain. After a reign of ſeven years, Flabhertach reſigned the throne, and retired to Ardmach, devoting the remainder of his life to the ſervice of God. He died A. C. 760, in great reputation for ſanctity.

734 Aodh Ollan, ſon to the monarch Fearghal, was called to the throne. He was remarkably attached to the church and clergy. The dues, called in other parts of Europe, St. Peter's pence, were *here* paid to the ſee of Armach annually. Theſe payments had not of late years been ſo
736 regular as before. A ſynod of the clergy was called together at Tirdaglas, in Ormond, at which the monarch preſided. It was alſo honoured by the preſence of Cathal, king of Munſter, and many other princes; and a decree paſſed for the more regular collection of this tribute for
738 the future. Soon after, a fierce war broke out between the Mamonians and the king of Leinſter; (but we find no mention made of the cauſe). A bloody battle was the conſequence, which by mutual conſent was fought at Ballach-Feile, in Offory, in which the king of Munſter was victor. The monarch ſome time after declared war againſt the Lagenians, and entered that province with a well-appointed army. Aodh Mac Colgan oppoſed him
741 with his provincials. A battle was fought, great intrepidity diſplayed, and very much blood ſpilt. The Lagenians were at length obliged to give way, with the loſs of their king, the choiceſt of their knights and nobility, and 900 of their beſt troops! Nor was the ſlaughter amongſt the victors much leſs. Amongſt thoſe of greateſt note, were Aodh, the ſon of Mortough, general to the monarch; and this laſt alſo was dangerouſly wounded. This bloody engagement is called the battle of Athſeanuigh.

ſeanuigh. Soon after this, his ſucceſſor began to form a dangerous league againſt the reigning monarch. He appeared at length at the head of a powerful army, and publicly announced his pretenſions to the throne. By mutual agreement a battle was fought near Kells, in Meath, in which the imperialiſts were defeated, and Aodh was numbered amongſt the ſlain. Pity it is, that we are furniſhed with no other particulars of this reign, becauſe we have reaſon to think it was a very intereſting period; as all our annaliſts begin a new æra from his death. A. C. 743

Daniel III. the ſon of Murtough, the eleventh in deſcent from Niall the Grand, aſcended the throne. In his reign the Picts invaded Leinſter, but were defeated by theſe laſt, in the battle of Rath-Beothach, in which engagement, amongſt other perſons of note, Cathaſach, their general, the ſon of Oiliolla, king of the Picts, was ſlain. The Mamonians, ſome time after, declared war againſt the Lagenians. A battle attended with unuſual carnage was fought, at a place called Tabur-fionn, or the White Spring, but which it is ſaid, with the road and lake adjoining, were coloured with the blood of the ſlain. Hence this memorable fight has been called Cath-Beallach-Cro, or the battle of the Bloody Path. The monarch ſeems to have been a tame and inactive ſpectator of theſe bloody ſcenes; and given up to a religious turn, attended more to litanies and proceſſions than to feats of arms. After a rule of twenty years, he made a pilgrimage to the abbey of Huy, where he ended his days, with great piety and reſignation.

Niall II. ſon to the monarch Fearghal, was elected emperor. He was called Fraſſach, or of the Showers; becauſe it is ſaid, that in his reign there were three preternatural falls from the ſky; one ſeemingly of blood, at Magh-Laighion; another of honey, at Fothan-beg; and the third of ſilver, at Fothan-more. As theſe are noted 763

A. C. in the Book of Reigns, and in the annals of Tigernach, a writer of the eleventh century, I thought it my duty to mention them, leaving to the reader's judgment the degree of credit he thinks they merit. Certain it is, that Mac Curtin *, who is not above forty years dead, declares, that bits of fine ſilver, called twelve-grain pennys, were then in being, and ſuppoſed to be part of this money, but, Credat qui vult.

Very many uncommon phænomena ſeemed to predict the approaching miſeries of Ireland. In the reign of Aodh-Slaine, the appearance of fleets and armies were ſeen in the ſkies; in thoſe of his ſucceſſor, a monſtrous ſerpent ſeemed to float in the air. The fall of blood in the preſent times ſeemed to announce their nearer approach. This was followed by dreadful earthquakes in different parts of the kingdom; and to theſe ſucceeded
770 ſo ſevere a famine, as to carry off numbers of the inhabitants. The good monarch ſhocked at ſuch accumulated miſeries, reſigned the crown, and retired to the abbey of Huy; where, after eight years ſpent in remarkable piety and auſterity he reſigned this life for a better, and was interred there, in the ſame vault with his predeceſſor. The covering ſtone of this vault is yet preſerved, with the following inſcription on it, "*Tumulus regum Hiberniæ.*"

On the reſignation of Niall, the eſtates proceeded to a new election, when Donochad, the ſon of the monarch Daniel, was called to the crown. Notwithſtanding that he reigned twenty-ſeven years; yet, during this uncommonly long period, we are furniſhed with no remarkable events whatever. Bruodinus notes, that in his
797 adminiſtration died St. Sedulius, biſhop of Dublin, St. Colchus, called the Wiſe, and others; and all our annaliſts are in uniſon, as to his exemplary piety and juſtice.

* Hiſtoroy of Ireland, p. 170.

The

The learned Dr. Warner on this occaſion, deplores A. C.
the great deſtruction of our annals; and his induction from it, is ſenſible and judicious. "In ſo long a reign "(the preſent one)" ſays he, "it is impoſſible but that "many things muſt have occurred both in Church and "ſtate, that were worthy of a place in the hiſtory of "theſe times. The want of theſe materials is itſelf a "convincing proof that we have little more than annals "and regiſters, of the ſucceſſion and genealogies of "their kings, extracted from the hiſtories that were de-"poſited in their archieves; and that theſe valuable ori-"ginals, were deſtroyed at different times, in the rage "of plunder, by their enemies. At the ſame time, it "muſt be obſerved, that this is ſo far from being an "objection to the genuineneſs of what remains, that it "rather demonſtrates how ſcrupulous ſucceeding hiſto-"rians were of adding a ſyllable of their own, where "ſo much room was left for invention and impoſi-"tion."

In the reign of this prince, and year 790, the North Britiſh writers affirm, that the *ſolemn and indiſſoluble alliance* between France and their kings, commenced: Mezeray mentions this alliance *, but as a fact aſſerted by theſe people *only*. He ſays, that Charlemagne, ſent 4000 men to their aſſiſtance, and that in return they ſent Claude Clement and Alcuin to France, who opened public ſchools there, which were the origin of the univerſity of Paris. This relation is taken originally from Boëtius, whoſe veracity as an hiſtorian, has long ſince been thus ſung, by the celebrated antiquary Leland †.

"*Hectoris* hiſtorici, tot quot mendacia ſcripſit,
"Si vis ut numerem, lector amice tibi:
"Me jubeas etiam *fluctus numerare marinos*,
"*Et liquidi ſtellas enumerare poli!*"

* Hiſtoire de France, tom. i. p. 161. † Hiſtor. Scot. lib. x.

A. C. Hector says, that Achaius, king of the Scots, on this occasion sent his brother William as his ambassador to France, in whose retinue were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuin; that the two last returned home, the others remaining in France. Not to advert to what has been long since DEMONSTRATED by Usher, Routh, Ward, and others, i. e. *that North Britain was not called Scotland for three centuries after the period in question*; that is, until the Dal Riada, or Irish colony in the Highlands, had totally subverted the Pictish government, and firmly established their dominion over all North Britain; and, of course, being at this time but a small body of people, pent up in the narrow precincts of Argyle, they could be but little known as a distinct people inhabiting Britain. Not to advert to all this, I say, the very tale carries its own refutation. For, first, the name of William was not used either in Ireland, or amongst their colonists in Britain, for some centuries after the period in question; therefore, as O'Flaherty observes, *William was an Eutopian prince*. Alcuinus was a British Saxon, invited to France by Charlemagne, (who met him at Pavia in 786) and there residing before the year 788 *; but so far from returning to Scotland, it appears that he died at Tours, A. C. 804. Raban was a German, abbot of Fulda, and archbishop of Mentz, who never quitted the continent, and died A. C. 856; and Clement and John were Scots of Ireland, the only country then, and for above three centuries after, known by that name.

The fame of Charlemagne, indeed, extended to distant climes, says his secretary and biographer, Eginhard †. "Alfonsus, king of Galicia, addressed letters to him, "in which he desired to be numbered amongst his vassals. "The kings of Scotland or Ireland tasted so much of "his munificence, as to call themselves his vassals. There

* Usher Syllog. Epist. Hibern. p. 61. † Vita Car. Magni.

"yet

"yet remain their letters," says he, "to this effect: A. C.
"The Saracens of Spain and Africa, courted his alli-
"ance. Aaron, king of Persia, the haughtiest prince
"on earth, sent a most superb embassy to him." Now, as Irishmen had a principal hand in converting the French nation; and that our famous Virgilius, was in great favour with Pepin, father to Charlemagne, it is highly probable, that in these mutual and friendly communications, the Irish princes might, at his request, send learned men to form schools there on the plan of ours, as in effect we shall shew they did.

CHAP. VI.

Account of eminent men and their works—Adamnanus abbot of Huy, attempts a reform in the discipline of the church of Ireland—Virgil arrives in France, on his way to the Holy-land; is caressed by Pepin, and becomes his confessor—has a dispute with the bishop of Mentz; and the pope, on an appeal, decides in favour of Virgil.

ADAMNANUS, of the race of Conor-Gulban, and house of O'Donnell, a person of uncommon virtue, learning, and piety, was elected abbot of Huy, A. C. 679. He was sent twice ambassador to Britain, as he himself declares *; in 684, to demand satisfaction for the invasion of Ireland, and restitution for the outrages then committed; in 687, he went a second time. The cause of this second embassy is not known. Bede tells us simply †, that this abbot of Huy, was sent ambassador by the princes of Ireland to king Alfred; where remaining for a time, and being strongly admonished by

* Vita St. Columbæ, lib. ii. cap. 46.
† Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. v. cap. 16. 22.

persons

A.C. persons of great piety and learning, particularly the abbot Caelfridus, to adhere to the customs of the universal church, in opposition to those of his ancestors, he adopted this mode, and, on his return to Huy, laboured to convince his monks of their error, but in vain. From thence he sailed to Ulster, and reclaimed this people in these points of church discipline; for the southern parts had long before this conformed to the practice of the universal church. His success at home, made him return back to his monastery, but he could not prevail upon his subjects to alter their ancient mode. He died, according to the Four Masters, September 23d, 703, in his seventy-seventh year.

He wrote the life of St. Columba in three books, published entire by Colgan *. Also, the Life of St. Bathild, the wife of Clovis II. She was an English Saxon, of great beauty, surprised very young by pirates, and sold as a slave in France. She was at length married to Clovis; and during her widowhood governed with great prudence. She invited numbers of holy monks (particularly from Ireland) to her court, and died in a convent about 684. This work, it is said, is yet extant, in the Benedictine convent of the city of Metz, in Lorrain. He published likewise a description of the Holy Land, which he dedicated to king Alfred, by whose bounty, says Bede, many copies of it were made out, and given to different people. Besides these, some Epistles, and a book de Paschate legitimo, said to be wrote after his conformation, are attributed to him.

Colman, called the Scribe of Armagh, wrote the life of St. Patrick. St. Coman bishop of Roscommon, wrote a *Rule for Monks*. He died in 746, say the Annals of Ulster; and we find his rules soon after adopted by most of the monks in Conaught.

* Vitæ quartæ St. Columbæ.

Albuin,

Albuin, called apoſtle of Thuringia, it is ſaid, wrote a work for the uſe of this people. A. C.

Ciaran, abbot of Bealag-duin, Ermedach, biſhop of Clogher, and Collait, a prieſt of Druim-Roilgeach, according to Uſher, were different writers of the Life of St. Patrick.

Virgil, animated with a deſire of viſiting the Holy Land, and ſeeing theſe places deſcribed by his relation Adamnanus, quitted his native country (Ireland), accompanied by ſeven biſhops. The abject ſtate of Chriſtianity in Gaul, and the great reformations there neceſſary, determined him to remain amongſt them for a time. He was in the higheſt confidence with Pepin (and for ſome time his confeſſor), then *nominally*, but *Maire of the palace*; ſo that it was in the reign of Childeric, he arrived in France, as I find, from the earlieſt accounts of him *. He remained two years at the court of Pepin, when he ſent him on the miſſion to Bavaria. Here, with unremitting zeal, he laboured for the converſion of ſouls; and Boniface, biſhop of Mentz, intending to re-baptize ſuch as had received this ſacrament by the hands of an ignorant prieſt, who had pronounced the formula in bad Latin, he oppoſed, being ſupported by Sidonius, the archbiſhop: he inſiſted, that the ſacrament of baptiſm was conferred by virtue of the miniſtry more than by the words, provided the prieſt was properly ordained, and that he adminiſtered it in the name of the Trinity. An appeal was made to pope Zachary, who determined it in favour of Virgil. He addreſſed on this occaſion, "*An Epiſtle to Zachary, the Roman Pontiff.*" This deciſion happened in the year 747.

This triumph of Virgil was highly reſented by Boniface, who was greatly in favour with this pope. He

* Vita St. Rumoldi paſſim, Fleury Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 306, 7, 8, 9.

complained

A. C. complained to him, that Virgil boaſted that he was to be nominated to the firſt of the four ſees that fell in Bavaria; and he charged him with doctrines repugnant to Chriſtianity; particularly "*in publiſhing, that there* "*was another world, another ſun and moon; that this* "*world was ſpherical, inſtead of being flat, and that we* "*had our antipodes.*" The pope in his anſwer directs, that, if theſe facts be proved before a council, Virgil is to be degraded. He alſo obſerves, that he had wrote to the duke of Bavaria, to ſend him to Rome to be examined by himſelf; and that he wrote to Virgil on this head. It appears, however, that he was neither degraded or ſent to Rome; but that he was made firſt rector of St. Stephen's abbey, and afterwards biſhop of Saltzburg; and Zachary was himſelf ſuſpected of favouring Virgil's opinion as to the plurality of worlds. In 751, Pepin was elected, and afterwards conſecrated with holy oil, king of France; and as this is the firſt inſtance of the uſe of the unction in France, according to the mode of the kings of Iſrael, I ſtrongly ſuſpect that Virgil, who was a great divine, and a prelate of univerſal erudition, firſt ſuggeſted this thought, to take off the odium of uſurpation, and make the title of king in his family be more reverenced. The reader has already ſeen the reaſons I have offered, for its early introduction into Ireland; and if he will recollect them, he will be able to judge with more preciſion of the reaſonableneſs of the preſent ſuppoſition.

St. Colga wrote Oratio Colga Sancti, which father Colgan poſſeſſed; and tells us, it is a ſmall collection of the moſt ardent prayers, in the manner of litanies.

Aongus, the famous hagiographer, of the royal line of Ir, flouriſhed in this century. An account of his life and writings may be ſeen in the Acta Sanct. Hib. p. 579, &c.

Dicuil

Dicuil is said by Harris * to have wrote a Treatise of the Survey of the Provinces of the Earth, according to the authority of the persons commissioned by Theodosius the emperor, to measure the same; and that this treatise is yet extant in MS. A. C.

CHAP. VII.

Account of eminent men continued—Pepin, king of France obtains missionaries from Ireland, to convert the Frieslanders to Christianity—the revival of literature in Europe more probably to be ascribed to the Irish, than the Arabians—the first universities of Europe established by Irishmen; and the form of passing the degree of doctor, derived from the Irish—of knighthood, and the estimation it was held in by the Irish—inquiry into the origin of the feudal law and customs—allodial tenure—knights service—titles of honour, duke, earl, and baron, of Irish origin.

THE Venerable Bede confesses †, that at the request of Oswald, St. Aidan, with other priests, were sent from Ireland to the conversion of his people. Oswald himself, with his brothers, fled thither in the reign of the monarch Daniel, at whose court they were educated, and converted to Christianity; and to him after his restoration, A. C. 634, did Oswald apply for missionaries, for the conversion and instruction of his people. In like manner I suppose Pepin, Maire of the palace, the grandfather of Pepin, the first king of France of the Carlovingian race, and who was zealous in the cause of Christianity—as indeed were his successors—applied to the

* Writers of Ireland, p. 55.

† Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 3.

monarch

A. C. monarch Fionachta A. C. 690, for miſſionaries to convert the people of Frieſland, whoſe country he had juſt reduced. But be this as it may, certain it is, that Ecbert, an holy Saxon prieſt, then reſiding in Ireland, prepared, with many others, for this miſſion from hence; but obſtacles ariſing, he ſent to Willibrord, his countryman, educated and living in Ireland, with twelve diſciples, to the converſion of theſe people *. They waited, ſays he, on Pepin, who graciouſly received them, and directed every favour and protection to be ſhewn them. That all theſe were educated, and reſided for many years in Ireland, Bede, their contemporary, declares; from whence they ſailed directly for Gaul. The famous Alcuin, his countryman, and preceptor to Charlemagne †, confeſſes all this; and even begins his ſecond book thus:

"Venerat de occiduis quidam, de FINIBUS ORBIS
"Vir, virtute potens, divino plenus amore;
"Ore ſagax, et mente vigil, et fervidus actu.
"Ad te, temporibus *Peppini*, Francia fœlix,
"Quem tibi jam genuit fœcunda Britannia mater,
"Doctaque nutrivit ſtudiis, ſed *Hibernia ſacris*,
"Nomine Willbrordus."——

Should it be aſked why theſe were pitched upon by the Iriſh monarch for this miſſion? Bede will inform you, that it was, becauſe they were themſelves of the Saxon race, and very probably underſtood the language. To this let me add, that at an earlier date, (i. e. A. C. 653), Grimoald, Maire of the palace, ſent Dagobert, ſon to Sigebert III. to Ireland, in order to become a religious, where he remained for twenty years ‡.

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brit. lib. v. cap. 10, 11. † In Vita ejus.
‡ Mezeray Hiſt. de France, tom. i. p. 96. Fleury's Hiſt. Eccleſ.

I ſuppoſe

I ſuppoſe that king Pepin in like manner applied to A. C.
the monarch Daniel III. for a new recruit of miſſionaries to farther the ſame good end; who ſent the famous Virgil, and his aſſociates. We have already ſeen Eginhard acknowledge the friendly intercourſes between our princes and Charlemagne; and at his requeſt it was, that Claude Clement, and John Scot, ſurnamed Albin, repaired to Paris. There is an epiſtle of Alcuin to Colga or Colcua, regent of the ſchool of Clonard, which Uſher tranſcribed from the Cotton library *. It is thus addreſſed: "*Benedicto magiſtro et pio patre Colcuq.*" From this epiſtle, it would appear, that Alcuin was a pupil of Colcuo; that he kept up a correſpondence with him, and acquainted him from time to time of the moſt material tranſactions of the French church and ſtate. This letter was accompanied with preſents of money from Charlemagne, and from Alcuin himſelf, to be diſtributed in ſome convents in Ireland, to pray for the ſucceſs of this prince.

As this letter was wrote before the year 790, and that it is evident from it, that other letters had paſſed between them of an earlier date, we may preſume that Clement and Albin, the founders of the univerſities of Paris and Pavia, viſited France at the requeſt of Charlemagne, *for this particular purpoſe*, not that they came unſent-for, as has been generally imagined. This will naturally account for the honourable reception he gave them, and for his immediately aſſigning to them, the different cities in which theſe great ſchools were to be founded.

When the reader recollects the flouriſhing ſtate of arts and ſciences amongſt us, for ſome centuries preceding the preſent æra; when he conſiders from the Paternoſter already exhibited, that our language became a

* Sylloge. Epiſt. Veter. Hibern.

kind

A. C. kind of *univerſal one* among the literati of the continent, and now beholds univerſities founded by Iriſhmen, under the patronage of Charlemagne himſelf; will he any longer attribute to the Arabians, the revival of letters in Europe? Theſe people were, from religious and political principles, the avowed enemies of Chriſtendom, and ſought by the ſword to extend their power, and eſtabliſh their religion, not to plant the ſeeds of piety, peace, and learning. Beſides, the facts we have aſſerted, are admitted by all the early writers; and to add ſtill greater force to this, has not Mezeray *, and the beſt informed French antiquaries acknowledged, that to our monks they are indebted for what remains of their early hiſtory? Are there any ſuch teſtimonies in favour of the Arabians?

It may appear to the preſent age a thing of little conſequence, to whom their anceſtors were indebted for the revival of letters; and were I not ſatisfied that this knowledge would help greatly to elucidate and explain many things hitherto little underſtood, I ſhould not be ſo detailed on this ſubject. As then the revival of letters in Britain and on the continent, were the acts of Iriſhmen, we ſhould ſuppoſe that their hiſtory and legiſlation ought to throw more lights on theſe matters, than thoſe of any other nation; and the fact is, that they do ſo. And firſt, the very form of paſſing doctors in different ſciences, and the diplomas granted in conſequence, prove the fountain from whence theſe cuſtoms originated.

We have the copy of a diploma for a doctorſhip in phyſick and philoſophy †, at Rome, in which, amongſt other inſignia of this office, we read, that "*a Biretum* "*was placed on his head, and a ring on his finger.*" Now

* Hiſt. de France, tom. i. p. 161.

† Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 332.

the

the word Biretrum is not Latin (notwithſtanding that the cap of the cardinal has no other name) but a manifeſt Iriſh word latinized. It was the cap worn by our ancient doctors in different ſciences, and is to THIS DAY called by us a Birede, from Bar, a man of letters, and Eadach, a covering. By the famous ſumptuary law, called Illbreachta, or the Law of Colours, paſſed about A. M. 2815, doctors had the privilege of wearing ſix different colours in their garments, being one more than the equeſtrian order (whom they preceded), beſides a Birede for the head. About the year of the world 3075, a farther regulation of the literati was made. A few years earlier it was decreed, that knights, beſides *five colours* in their garments, ſhould alſo be diſtinguiſhed by a Torques, or chain of gold, round the neck; and it was now enacted, that, beſides garments of *ſix colours*, and the Birede, doctors ſhould wear gold rings on the finger. From this cuſtom, the prince in whoſe reign this law paſſed, was called Aldergoid, or the Decreer of Gold Rings. Beſides the Biretrum and the ring, we read, ſoon after the revival of letters on the continent, that doctors diſputed with knights for precedency; and to compoſe this ſtrife, many were knighted; but others refuſing this mark of degradation, as they thought it, preſerved their rank, and were called Milites Clerici. As then the firſt univerſities in Europe were regulated and eſtabliſhed by Iriſhmen, behold how eaſily the clew to theſe cuſtoms is found out, and how ſatisfactorily the whole is explained! Colleges of poets were early eſtabliſhed in Germany; and the arch-poet preſided over this order of men *. On paſſing doctors, they were ſworn to avoid ſatire, miſrepreſentation, or whatever could reflect on the emperor, or on their country. In Ireland, ſuch colleges were eſtabliſhed from the beginning of our A. C.

* Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 333, 4, 5, 6, 7, &c.

monarchy;

A. C. monarchy; and does not the abuſe which this order of men amongſt us ſometimes made of their power, prove the neceſſity of this regulation? More than twice were ſevere decrees paſſed againſt them; and in the year of Chriſt 588, it was decreed, that the monarch's chief bard ſhould, for the time to come, be preſident of the poets, have power to reform their colleges, and puniſh, or otherwiſe expel the order, ſuch as deſcended to ſatire and miſrepreſentation!

About the time that univerſities were eſtabliſhed on the continent, we read that orders of knighthood were alſo founded in different places. It is confeſſed, that this cuſtom did not originate from the equeſtrian order of ancient Rome; and though the contrary had been aſſerted, yet it could be eaſily refuted; for we know, that ſuch an order ſubſiſted in Gaul long before they had any connections with Rome. They are mentioned by Cæſar, by Tacitus, and by Livy, &c. Above three centuries before Chriſt, Manlius, a noble Roman, got the title of Torquatus, (and which continued in his family) for having killed, in a ſingle duel, a Gauliſh knight, whoſe Torques, or chain of gold, he ever after wore. Had the Torques been a Roman badge, the title would be abſurd.

That the deſtruction of annals and early records on the continent, and the total abolition of all ancient cuſtoms amongſt them by the Romans, ſhould leave no traces of this order of men, ſo renowned for their bravery and virtue, is not ſurpriſing; nor that the revival of this, amongſt other remote cuſtoms, in days of freedom, ſhould be placed as the very time of their inſtitution. Deprived of every clue to the hiſtory of remoter times, what had writers, but conjecture to offer? The hiſtory of Ireland, the only country in Europe which had preſerved its independency in theſe ages of tyranny and oppreſſion, however, we ſee, diſpels the clouds, and, inſtead

stead of conjecture, proves to a certainty the very great antiquity of the equestrian order amongst the Celtæ! A. C.

After the revival of chivalry on the continent, we behold emperors and kings deem knighthood a new accession of honour; and, at this day, there is no prince in Europe who is not knighted. We see it so revered in ancient Ireland, that no prince could become a candidate for the monarchy, who had not received the Graghi-Gaische, or order of chivalry; and to prove this, we have but to remind our readers, that in the fourth century, an Irish prince, who had possessed himself of the palace of Tara, in order to strengthen his claim to the monarchy, was obliged to quit it, as unqualified, *having never been knighted!*

If, from this, we carry our inquiries into the origin of these usages and laws, called feudal, what new lights will not our history throw on them? As they regarded tenures of every kind; and that the first act of possession, from the prince to the peasant, consisted in turning up some ground, they were in general denominated feudal laws, from the Irish word Fod, a clod of earth turned up, and Dlighe, a law; hence the Latin Fodio, to dig, and Feudum, a fee or tenure. These tenures acquired different names, according to the manner they were held in. The most honourable tenure was called Allodial, as being held from the most remote antiquity. The learned Dr. Robertson * derives it from An and Lot, German words, which import, land got by casting lots; but this gives no idea of Allodial property. It was by this kind of tenure, that the right of governing was confined to the blood royal in every country in ancient Europe: it was by it, that offices were hereditary in certain families, as marshals, treasurers of countries, commanders of horse and foot, &c. and it explains, why

* Life of Charles V. p. 225. Irish. edit.

these

A. C. theſe offices ſtill continued in families, notwithſtanding any act of rebellion of the preſent proprietor. For being but tenant for life, and the poſt elective by the family or ſept, any overt-act of the preſent poſſeſſor could only affect himſelf. When a moſt iniquitous inquiry commenced in Ireland, in the reign of Elizabeth, by what right many of the moſt noble families in the kingdom held their ranks and fortunes? they anſwered, by the moſt indiſputable; by a right as ancient as the monarchy itſelf: a right which, until then, was never called in queſtion by Allodial tenure. However, ſome conſented, and others were obliged to make a ſurrender of their hereditary rights. She and her pious miniſters garbled them out in what manner they liked beſt. In theſe partitions, the good queen did not forget herſelf; and her worthy miniſters followed the royal example. Sir John Davis's letter, in the reign of James I. ſhews more of this *. This word, like the other, is derived, not from the German, but the Iriſh word Allod, old.

Knight's ſervice, called by our lawyers Fearan Cloim, or ſword-land, was another kind of tenure, different from allodial. This laſt was from the original partition of countries; but ſword-land was allotted to foreigners, called in, in times poſterior to this. This tenure we have inſtances of from remote antiquity. In the latter end of the ſecond century, almoſt all Leinſter was overrun by the Mamonians. In this diſtreſs, Cucorb applies to Eochaidh, brother to the monarch Con, and to Laighſeach, an intrepid hero. By their means the Mamonians were defeated, and on Eochaidh he beſtowed ſword-lands, in the county of Wexford; and on Laigſeach, the country from him called Lais. When the monarch Cormoc, in the third century, engaged the grandſon of Oilioll, king of Munſter, in his intereſt, he gave to him, and to his officers, large grants of land in Leinſter

* Letter to the Earl of Saliſbury,

and

and Conaught, which were held by military tenure; A.C.
and part of which, the iſſue of theſe heroes poſſeſs at this day; as O'Connor-Cianachti, O'Hara, O'Gara, O'Coghlin, &c. In the fourth century, the attempts of the Conacians, to add the preſent county of Clare to their province, were ſo frequent and ſo bold, that Lugha, king of Leath-Mogha, made Fearan-Cliomh, of the whole county, from the borders of Galway to Loops-Head. Theſe few inſtances will prove—firſt, the great antiquity of the feudal ſyſtem, in oppoſition to modern aſſertions; ſecondly, that allodial property was a branch of this ſyſtem, and never fluctuating; and thirdly, that it was not a barbarous ſyſtem ſuggeſted by neceſſity, after the deſtruction of Rome—for by it property was better ſecured than by the Roman code—ſee the revolutions in ancient Rome—behold emperors elected often from the dregs of the people; depoſed and murdered at pleaſure, and new ones choſen, according to the power of faction and caprice! Does the feudal ſyſtem exhibit ſuch outrages; or does it afford inſtances of ſuch revolutions? It does not. The ſupreme command was confined to the blood royal, and all ſubordinate ſtations were the honours and properties of particular families.

But beſides theſe, there was a part of this code, which gave ſingular privileges. By it the poſſeſſors of certain lands were exempt from every mark of tribute or vaſſalage, which was not the caſe with allodial proprietors; ſince the hereditary titles of marſhal, ſtandard-bearer, generals of horſe and foot, &c. point out their different employs in the ſtate. We may form ſome idea of the conſequence of this tenure, by the will of Cathoir-More, in the ſecond century; who, after bequeating to his ſon Ceatach certain lands, concludes, as a remark of the great wiſdom of this prince—"that to ſeparate him "from his brothers would be a grievous loſs to them,

A. C. "though it were even on (Saor Forba) free lands." Eſtates on the continent deſcended to, and were divided amongſt the male line *only*, in excluſion of the female. This law was called Gavel-kind, from the Iriſh, Gavel, land, and Cinne, a family; and inſtead of receiving, the huſband always ſettled a dowry on the wife. She, nevertheleſs, brought with her a conſiderable ſtock of cattle, according to her rank. In Ireland this was called Calip an Spre, or the marriage cattle. The cuſtom was here, that every friend, relation, and follower of the family, brought his preſent to the bride. This rule is yet obſerved in many places, and exactly accords with the rules of the old Franks and Germans.

Amongſt the old Britons, Gauls, and Germans, all crimes, not even murder excepted, were puniſhed by mulct, and this was ſettled according to the rank and dignity of the deceaſed. At all times, even to the laſt century, this law, which was called Eric, prevailed in Ireland. When the *State* in Dublin requeſted that Mac Guire would permit them to ſend a ſheriff into his country (Fermanagh), he refuſed, until they firſt ſettled his Eric; by which means, in caſe he ſhould be cut off by his people, he ſhould know what fine he was to raiſe on his ſubjects for the offence.

Freemen who held land under allodial proprietors, were called Arimani, from the Iriſh Araimh, to plow; and by the tenure of ſoccage, rent was paid in corn, from Soc, a plough-ſhare. The word Dux, Mr. Llhuid thinks derived from the Iriſh Tus, a beginning: it alſo ſignifies noble; hence the Iriſh Tuiſeach, a chieftain or leader. In like manner the word Earl ſeems derived from the Iriſh Earlar, noble, generous; and with us, Ear-Fhlathas, ſignifies an ariſtocracy. A Baron, perhaps from Bar, power; hence Rug ſe an Bar, he carried the ſway. A Martial, from Meirge, a ſtandard, and Slua, an army.

From

From what has been ſaid, I think it muſt be admitted, that our hiſtory is the true clue, indeed the only one, to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of Europe; and whoever will ſtudy it cloſely, and compare it with what has been advanced by Craigs *, Monteſquieu †, Robertſon ‡, Dr. O'Sullivan §, &c. will throw this great deſideratum to the hiſtory of Europe, in the cleareſt light. Conſult alſo Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. II. A. C.

* De Jure Feudali apud Scotos.
† L'Eſprit des Loix.
‡ Hiſt. of Charles V. book i.
§ Lectures on the Feudal Laws.

BOOK X.

CHAP. I.

Reign of Aodh VI. and first appearance of the northern pirates—not Danes, strictly speaking, but an assemblage of different nations—their incursions not caused by a redundance of inhabitants—associate to preserve their religion and liberties—the monarch invades Leinster, and exonerates the clergy from their attendance on the army—ravages of the Danes—king of Munster demands tribute from Thomond, but relinquishes this claim—the Danes defeated near Waterford—return in greater numbers.

A. C. 797 AODH VI. called Oirdnidhe, the son of Niall-Friasach, was saluted monarch. About this time the annals of Ulster notice an invasion of the isle of Rechrin, to the north of the county of Antrim, and of its being plundered by pirates; and these the learned Usher * observes, were the first Danish invaders.

As these people were, for above two centuries, highly formidable, not only to Ireland, but to all Europe, some RATIONAL attempt to investigate the cause of their repeated depredations, may not be unacceptable to philosophic inquirers. It is generally agreed, that these pirates were a motley aggregate of Livonians, Saxons, Frisians, Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, whose residence on the coasts of the German sea and the Baltic,

* Brit. Eccles. Prim. p. 958, 1172.

made

made them naturally fond of that element. The various names by which our writers have diſtinguiſhed them, plainly prove them to have been of different nations. One tribe of them were called Leth-Manni; and theſe, archbiſhop Uſher and O'Conry * judge were Livonians, whoſe province is called Letten, and by geographers Letta; hence Leth-Manni, or the people of Letta. Others were called Fionne Gail and Dubh-Gail, or White and Black Strangers, from the colours of their hair. The firſt were, to all appearance, the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, who are generally fair-haired; and the others Germans. A territory near Dublin, yet retains the name of Fin-gall; and Dunegal is probably a corruption of Dubh-Gail, or the country of the Black Strangers. But the moſt general names they are, amongſt us, diſtinguiſhed by, are Dubh-Loch-Lannice and Fionn-Loch-Lannice; the word Loch-Lonnach ſignifies powerful at ſea, and the adjectives Dubh, or Black, and Fionn, or White, were added to denote their different countries by their hair. We alſo, ſometimes, find them called Danair-Fonh and Dan-Fhir; but I believe, theſe were rather words of reproach than an implication of the country from whence they came, becauſe they are rarely met with; and Iriſh writers were not fond of reproachful epithets to their enemies. They were called Dan-Fhir, I conjecture, from Dana, bold, impetuous, oppreſſive, and Fear, a man; hence Dan-Fhir, or Dan-Airimh, oppreſſive men. But nothing can more fully prove the exactneſs of our hiſtorians, in their diſtinctions of theſe people, than when the black Loch-Lannics invaded Leinſter in 851, they attacked and diſpoſſeſſed the white Loch-Lannics of their territories about Dublin. A. C.

If ancient hiſtorians are ſometimes cenſurable for too eaſy a credence of improbable relations, and for mixing

* Laws of Taniſtry illuſtrated, p. 439.

fable

A. C. fable with hiſtory, what ſhall we ſay to modern writers, who oppoſe their own aſſumptions to both? It muſt be confeſſed that, with reſpect to the depredations of the northern pirates, we have little of certainty to explain to us the cauſe why, for about two centuries, the European ſeas ſhould be covered with lawleſs pirates, and different nations feel the force of their power; and why theſe different depredations ſhould begin almoſt every where about the ſame time, and ceaſe at nearly an equal period! Semblance of truth too often precludes truth; and ſuperficial readers ſometimes embrace the ſhadow for the ſubſtance.

The cauſe of the ſudden burſting forth of ſuch numerous northern hives, at this time, has been attributed to a ſuperabundance of inhabitants. The North, ſay lazy ſpeculatiſts, has been always a country the moſt prolific: it is the officina et vagina gentium! From it nations have been over-run from time to time, and hardy warriors have acquired, in other countries thoſe ſettlements, which the too great population of their own refuſed them. But however plauſible this appears, like many other refined theories of modern hiſtorians, it is but a bare aſſumption. Every evidence that can be demanded, proves that, at all periods, population has been greater in ſouthern than northern climates. The great quantity of unreclaimed ground, even to this day, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, ſhews theſe countries were never overſtocked with inhabitants. Whole tracts covered with wood, and the amazing quantities of it exported, particularly from Norway, prove the thinneſs of its inhabitants. What are Copenhagen, Stockholm, or Drontheim, compared, for extent or inhabitants, to London, Paris, or Dublin? Or what the inhabitants of Europe to thoſe of Aſia? Population, to a certainty, is much greater in warm than cold climates; but were we to grant the reverſe to be the caſe, why confine this

this amazing conflux of people to particular periods? A. C.
Nature is uniform in all her effects; and the ſame cauſe that produced a plethora of inhabitants at one particular period, ſhould, whilſt exiſting, at every other. Was the inundations of Europeans into Aſia in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, ever attributed to a redundancy of inhabitants; notwithſtanding the Aſiatics might well ſuppoſe it, from ſeeing, at different times, ſuch aſtoniſhing armies cover their countries? Were the different migrations to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and the vaſt continent of America for two centuries paſt, reſolved into an overſtock of inhabitants in Europe? If they were not, why ſhould we vapidly aſſign this as a cauſe in the preſent inſtance?

We have already noted how anxious Charlemagne, Pepin, and their predeceſſors were, to convert the northern nations of Germany; and the active part which the Iriſh miſſionaries took in this great work. In all appearance, policy united with religion in theſe purſuits; as every convert they made, was a new ſubject acquired. Theſe German nations, who ſo manfully defended their liberties, plainly ſaw, that the religion of their invaders was as inimical to them as their ſwords, and began to form a general confederacy againſt both. Driven into a narrower compaſs they became more compact and numerous, and their religion and their liberties, being equally the objects of the conquerors, they confederated to defend both *. Not numerous enough to face their enemies by land, and being powerful at ſea, they determined to make diverſions this way. Very probably neceſſity firſt drove them to try the expedient, and unexpected ſucceſs increaſed their confidence. The hiſtorian

* Both Pepin and Charlemagne formed holy confederacies to convert theſe people by fighting as well as praying; and where is the abſurdity to ſuppoſe theſe unite to oppoſe both.

Mezeray

A. C Mezeray * attributes the depredations of theſe northern nations to their love of liberty, and their deteſtation of thoſe prieſts and religious who had deſtroyed their gods and their altars; hence, ſays he, their greateſt cruelty was exerciſed on monks and monaſteries. For this reaſon it is, that they are frequently ſtyled in our annals Dubh-Geinte, or Black Infidels, and Fionn-Geinte, or White infidels. And as a farther proof of this, it appears, that as chriſtianity began to ſpread amongſt them, this rage of invaſion began gradually to ſubſide. What avails it that the acts of nations and communities are the reſult of ſome general principles, if the hiſtorian, whoſe duty it is, will not be at the trouble of exploring them?

In the year 798, and ſecond year of the reign of Aodh, the weſt of Munſter was invaded by a large body of the white Loch-Lannics, or Danes, who, for ſome time ravaged the coaſts, deſtroying churches and monaſteries, and putting to the ſword all the clergy they found. Art, or Airtre, the ſon of Cathal, was at this time king of Munſter, who, haſtily collecting the forces next to hand, engaged theſe foreigners in a pitched battle, defeated them, and, but for the night coming on, would have cut off their retreat to their ſhips, which the remains of them with difficulty reached.

A. C. 799, the monarch raiſed a great army, with which he invaded the province of Leinſter, to enforce the payment of the Tuathalian tribute. It ſeems that the royal army was always attended by the archbiſhop of Ardmach, and his ſuffragan biſhops. Conmac was at this time the ſucceſſor of St. Patrick, i. e. the primate, and complained and remonſtrated to the monarch, at the head of his clergy, how improper and indecent it was to ſee the miniſters of peace, upon all occaſions, witneſſes to

* Hiſt. de France, tom. i. p. 165.

the

the horrors of war and deſolation; and praying, for himſelf and for his ſucceſſors, a diſpenſation from ſo unclerical a duty. The abbot Fothadius, who, on account of his great knowledge in the canon laws, was called De Canonibus, was appealed to on this occaſion. He drew up his opinion in writing, which he entitled *Opuſculum pro Cleri Defenſione et Immunitate*, and preſented it to the monarch. In this he proved, that the clergy ought for ever to be exempted from this duty; and it was decreed ſo *. A. C.

Six years after the firſt defeat of the Danes in Munſter, (i. e. A. C. 804.) ſay our annals, and when Feidhlim, of the Eugenian line, was king of Munſter, a ſecond fleet of Danes landed on theſe coaſts, burning and deſtroying whatever ſtood before them, but particularly the churches and clergy. Feidhlim collected a conſiderable body of troops, and attacked theſe barbarians, who, after a long and bloody conflict, gave way on every ſide, and were purſued to their ſhips with great ſlaughter †.

Soon after this, we read of an invaſion of Ulſter by theſe barbarians, and of the uncommon cruelties they exerciſed there. They plundered the famous abbey of Benchoir of all its riches, carrying with them the rich ſhrine of St. Comhail, and putting to the ſword the abbot, with nine hundred monks! Muireadach, king of Ulſter, attacked theſe incendiaries with great reſolution, and, after the loſs of twelve hundred of their beſt troops, the reſt fled to their ſhips.

Feidhlim, the Munſter king, being, for the preſent, rid of the Danes, by advice of his miniſters, was reſolved to compel the people of North Munſter to pay tribute to the kings of Caſhel. To give greater weight 805

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 581. 583.

† Cogadh-Gail, re Gaoidhealaibh.

to

A. C. to negociation, he raiſed a conſiderable army, with which he followed his ambaſſadors. The Dalgais, aſtoniſhed at the novelty of the demand, boldly anſwered, that they never would pay it; that they had been, and their anceſtors, at all times, exempt from taxes of every kind; that their poſſeſſions, particularly the county of Clare, were *Fearban forgabhala na cloidhimh* (ancient conqueſt of the ſword;) and as it had been hitherto preſerved free, in ſpite of the power of Conaught, they would take care to tranſmit it ſo to their poſterity *. The biſhops of Limeric, Killaloe, and Inis-Catha, ſoftened this anſwer, by remarking to the ambaſſadors of Feidhlim, that, ſince the fourth century, by common conſent, the territory of Thomond was declared ſword-land, and, of courſe, the people free from every tribute, whilſt they preſerved this barrier to Munſter. But, beſides this, Lachtna, the ſon of Core, ſon to Anluain (who then governed the province) repaired to the camp of Feidhlim, repreſenting to him the injuſtice of his proceedings; that his family had been long deprived of their right of alternate ſucceſſion to the crown of Munſter, according to the will of their common anceſtor Oilioll; and, that now, inſtead of raiſing them to their former rank, they wanted to make them their tributaries. Feidhlim and his chiefs were ſenſible of the juſtneſs of Lachtna's remarks, which became of more weight on finding that the Dalgaſſians were collecting their troops from all quarters. Lachtna paid him homage as king of Munſter, and was ſplendidly entertained by him. Feidhlim relinquiſhed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, all claims on the Dalgais; and this invaſion, in the beginning ſo formidable, ended in amity and feſtivity.

Feidhlim, ſoon after, embracing a monaſtic life, Olchubhar, the ſon of Ceanaodha, an Eugenian, ſuc-

* Leabhar-Muimhean.

ceeded

ceeded him, in whoſe reign the Danes made a freſh in- A. C.
vaſion into Munſter, committing uncommon cruelties, particularly on the churches and clergy. They landed at Waterford, and fire and ſword, marked every where the footſteps of theſe inhuman wretches. The city of 812
Liſmore was burnt to the ground, and its univerſity, then ſo renowned in Europe, deſtroyed, with its valuable library! churches were every where proſtrated; and wherever they found any clergy, they were ſure to put them to the ſword. Olchubhar, king of Munſter, attacked theſe aliens in the country of the Deaſies, and, after a moſt bloody battle, gained a complete victory over them *. Twelve hundred Danes were killed in the field, with two of their chiefs, Tomar and Eric, and numbers fell in the purſuit. But the loſs of the Mamonians was very conſiderable; amongſt others, Olchubhar himſelf, with many nobles of prime note, fell that day. To this defeat, I believe it is, that Eginhard alludes, when he tells us, in his annals, under the year 812, "that the Danes landed an army in Ireland, which was "defeated, and put to a ſhameful flight by the Iriſh †"

Notwithſtanding theſe defeats, the reports made by 815
the fugitives to their countrymen, of the wealth of Ireland, the ſplendour, magnificence, and number of its churches and monaſteries, and the fertility of the ſoil, encouraged others to make new attempts, and to endeavour at ſome ſettlement in the kingdom. A conſiderable fleet appeared off Kerry head, and plundered and deſtroyed the monaſtery of Skelig Mhichel. They then landed on the continent, and laid waſte the country as far as Loch-Lene, or Killarney. Here they were boldly attacked and defeated, leaving behind them a conſiderable part of their booty.

A freſh force appeared ſoon after in the Shannon, and the noble churches of Scattery, or Inis-Catha, were

* Toruigheact Cealachan Chaiſel. † An. Franc. Contr.

plundered,

A. C. plundered, the clergy put to the ſword, and the rich monument of St. Sennan defaced. Their troops ſuddenly landed, at different times, on both ſides the Shannon, and Corcabaiſcan, and Tradeuighe, on the north, and Ui Connal Gabhra, on the ſouth ſide, with all the churches, were laid in aſhes. A large party of theſe incendiaries were, however, overtaken at Seannued, near Glin, and put to the ſword. But though it appears, that wherever the Iriſh and theſe foreigners met, the latter were, in general, defeated, yet the country was deſtroyed beforehand, by reaſon of their commanding the ſea, and being at all times able to land where leaſt expected. Though the ravages of theſe Danes were alone as much afflictions as could be well borne, yet the very elements ſeemed to conſpire to the ruin of this afflicted
816 kingdom. On the northern ſide of the Shannon, in the month of March following, ſuch violent and uncommon claps of thunder and lightning burſt forth, that above a thouſand people were deſtroyed by it; at the ſame time the ſea broke down the banks with great violence, and laid a conſiderable part of the country under water.

Of the monarch Aodh, we are furniſhed with no accounts until that of his death, which happened in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and in the battle of Deſearta, by the Conacians.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. II.

The reign of Connor—battle of Druim-Conla—freſh devaſtations of the Danes, and death of the monarch—of Niall III. and the landing of Turgeſius—miſerable ſtate of Munſter, and antiquity of its cities—Leinſter over-run, and the reduction of the kingdom projected—death of Niall—of Malachie I.—convention of the eſtates of Leth-Cuin, and ſeveral defeats of the Danes, but triumph at length.

CONNOR, ſon to the monarch Donochada, now filled 821
the throne. The Gailiongachs, leaguing with the Danes, this prince attacked, on the plains of Tailtean, in Meath, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. The Danes had already over-run a great part of Leinſter and Conaught. 824
The Lagenians, headed by their prince Lorcan, the ſon of Ceallach, collected a conſiderable force, and attacked theſe foreigners at Druim-Conla. The action was very bloody, and, for a long time, doubtful. Fortune, at length, declared in favour of the aliens, and, for the firſt time, were the Iriſh defeated with very great ſlaughter. This year the clergy of Ireland agreed to pay Patrick's pence to the ſee of Ardmach.

A body of Danes landed ſuddenly near Cork, ſet fire 826
to the town and Church of St. Finbar; but the people, recovering from their ſurpriſe, attacked and defeated them with conſiderable ſlaughter. A large body of 830
Danes landed at Inbher-Chin-Tragha, or Newry, committing dreadful cruelties. They, for the firſt time, attacked Ardmach, and ſet fire to the churches and univerſity, plundering them of all their plate and riches. The monaſtery of Benchior again felt the fury of theſe fiends,

A. C. fiends, and ſeveral parts of Conaught were laid waſte by them. The monarch, either unable to unite the nation in a body againſt theſe invaders, or, perhaps, perceiving the impracticability of it, as their attacks were ſo ſudden, ſo unexpected, and diſtant, we are told, died with grief, and was ſucceeded by

835 Niall III. called Caille, the ſon of Aodh VI. The year 836 was remarkable for the arrival of Turgeſius in Ireland. Moſt of our writers place it earlier by twenty years; but this would be giving to this tyrant an unreaſonable length of years, and making him play the fool, as we ſhall ſee, at a time when ſuch vagaries muſt have long left him; add to this, that his ſeizing on Ardmach, which he did ſoon after his arrival, and expelling St. Ferranan, the clergy, and all the ſtudents, is placed in the year 839. This prince Turgeſius, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſhips, made two deſcents in Ireland. One fleet, of fifty ſhips, entered the river Boyne, and landed near Drogheda; the other in Dublin. Encouraged by ſo conſiderable a reinforcement, and ſenſible of the utility of having one common chief, all the foreigners in the kingdom, though of different nations, agreed to acknowledge, and act under the command of Turgeſius as ſuch, and to endeavour to conquer and ſettle in a country, which their firſt intentions were only to plunder and diſtreſs.

Already had Munſter ſuffered unheard-of afflictions. The northern and ſouthern Mamonians, or the Eoganachts and Dalgais, had not been well united. Theſe laſt, conſtantly in arms to defend their frontiers from the Conacians, could not enforce their right of alternate ſucceſſion to the crown of Munſter, and were, in a manner, excluded by the Eogannachts; and the writer of the actions of Ceallachan Caiſil, now before me, complains, that in all the miſeries of theſe days, the monarchs, and province of Leth-Cuin, never afforded them

them the ſmalleſt ſuccours. Thus divided amongſt themſelves, and unſupported by the other provinces, the Danes, wherever they landed, had nothing to fear but from the military, and people of that quarter only. Their fleet a ſecond time ſailed up the Shannon, and deſtroyed a moſt ſpacious monaſtery near Carrig a Foile, the remains of which, at this day, proclaims, in part, its former extent and grandeur. All the other religious houſes, on both ſides the river, ſuffered the ſame fate. They landed a conſiderable body of troops near Limeric, ſurpriſed, and ſet on fire the ancient city of Deocain-Affain, and with it the noble college of Muingharid, with the monaſtery, and other religious houſes, having firſt plundered them of their richeſt effects. Soon after this they poſſeſſed themſelves of Limeric. We are not told how, nor the exact time, but the Ulſter Annals, under the year 843, mention St. Ferranan's being taken priſoner at Cluan-Chomharda, and, with his family and the ornaments and relics of his churches, conveyed by water to their fleet at Limeric. From this we muſt ſuppoſe them in poſſeſſion of it before that period. And here let me for once obſerve *en paſſant*, the manifeſt abſurdities of foreign writers, in aſſerting that Limeric, Cork, Waterford, and moſt of our ſea-port towns, were built by theſe mercileſs barbarians. Limeric was ſo noted for its commerce, from the earlieſt ages, that it was never mentioned by our ancient writers without the epithet Long annexed to it. When Ceallachan-Caiſil attacked and expelled the Danes from thence, we then find him call it Luimneach na Luingas, or Limeric of the Ships or Fleets. We ſee St. Munchin, its firſt biſhop, in the days of St. Patrick; and Cork was ſoon after erected into a biſhoprick, &c. It need not be told, that, before the council of Nice, it was decreed, that biſhops ſhould never be ordained but to preſide over A. C.

large

A. C. large cities, or conſiderable tracts of land, where numbers of inferior clergy were.

The Mamonians muſt have received ſome conſiderable checks in this laſt invaſion, becauſe I find it mentioned, that after Ailghenan, king of Caſhell's deceaſe, (and he ruled Munſter but ſeven years), Maolgula, who was his ſucceſſor, was killed in battle by the Loch-Lonnachs.

Turgeſius, as we ſee, having now the command of theſe aliens, wherever diſperſed through the kingdom, with great wiſdom availed himſelf of this power; and his different detached parties were every where in action, whilſt he poſſeſſed himſelf of Drogheda, and another party of Dublin. And now was the whole country one ſcene of ruin and deſolation! Churches and monaſteries, religious and laics, nobles and peaſants, without diſcrimination, ſuffered the utmoſt cruelty of ſword and fire! Maigh-Breagh, and Maigh-Liffe, which, before this, exhibited ſuch ſcenes of opulence, ſplendor, hoſpitality, and piety, became now deſtitute of inhabitants, cities, or houſes; and the country, inſtead of being covered with flocks and corn, was replete with barbarians, who were a diſhonour to humanity! In this general conflagration and carnage, churches of the greateſt fame were particular objects to ſatiate the vengeance and rapacity of theſe infidels. They plundered and burned the noble abbey and churches of Kildare, taking with them the rich ſhrines of St. Bridget and St. Conlaeth. The city of Fearna-Maidog, or Ferns, then the capital of Leinſter, they laid in aſhes; having firſt plundered the archiepiſcopal church of St. Maidog of all its riches. They erected forts and caſtles, in theſe now deſolate places; ſo that whoever ventured to return to their old habitations, muſt do it on terms of ſubmiſſion to them. In vain did the Iriſh oppoſe them manfully every where; and wherever they engaged them, in general defeated them. Our annals are minute enough

in

in their accounts of theſe different encounters, (for battles they could not be called), and note in what place three, in another five, and ſix hundred of theſe people were cut off. It is evident by their numbers and the power they in fact acquired, that, upon the whole, the Danes were ſucceſsful. This was not enough: the interior parts of the country had been hitherto free from their incurſions; and poured forth new men, to defend thoſe parts neareſt them. Turgeſius, in imitation of the Iriſh, having penetrated far into the country, cauſed light barks to be built, and the interior parts of the Shannon, and other rivers and lakes, were ſoon filled with enemies, who, by ſudden landings, laid the country every where waſte. The proſpect of a complete reduction of the kingdom animated theſe people to make new efforts. Turgeſius ſent to his friends for a freſh reinforcement of troops. Early in 839, a fleet of Daniſh ſhips appeared on the coaſts of Ulſter, and landed a large body of troops near Dundalk; and after laying waſte the country, took Ardmagh ſword in hand, and ſet fire to all its ſumptuous churches, colleges, and public edifices. As had been already done in the South, they built veſſels; and Loch-Neach and Loch-Erne, were covered with ſmall craft: from which they ſuddenly landed, ſpreading ruin and deſolation over all the adjacent country, and particularly deſtroying churches and monaſteries. A. C.

Theſe ſcenes of devaſtation, the monarch we muſt ſuppoſe laboured to redreſs; but the attacks were ſo frequent, ſo unexpected, and ſo general, that it would be hard to find a remedy for all. He engaged them however in two different places, and defeated them both times with conſiderable ſlaughter. He laboured *now* to unite the jarring intereſts of the kingdom. To this purpoſe he made a royal tour into Leinſter, but was unfortunately drowned in the river Caillen, (and this in attempting to relieve a gentleman of his train, who, in trying whether it was fordable, was waſhed off his horſe), to the unſpeakable loſs of his country.

A. C. In the diſordered ſtate in which the kingdom muſt have been left by the premature death of Niall, we cannot ſuppoſe that the election of a ſucceſſor was ſo ſolemn and magnificent, as upon former occaſions (indeed it would be hard to think, how the national repreſentatives could ſafely meet, to proceed to ſuch an election) yet as he is placed next in the regal liſt, we muſt ſuppoſe that Maolſeachlin, otherwiſe Malachie, the ſon of Maolruana,
848 and brother to the monarch Connor, was immediately nominated monarch of Ireland. He is called in the regal liſt Flaith na Feine go Fior-Bhuadh, or Prince of the truly Conquering Legions. Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, he ſummoned the ſtates of Leath-Cuin, (i. e. of Conaught, Ulſter and Meath) to meet at Ardmach, (which had been recovered from the Danes), to deliberate on the ſtate of the nation. There appeared, beſides the monarch and his ſuite, Madaghan, king of Ulſter, Flaithri, king of Conaught, with their nobility; and, Diermod, ſucceſſor to St. Patrick, with his clergy, and thoſe of Meath, opened the convention by a ſolemn high maſs. From their effects ONLY, are we enabled to determine what were the reſolves of this auguſt aſſembly; and theſe it appears were, to attack the Danes in all quarters, at nearly the ſame time The monarch himſelf, at the head of a choſen band, defeated a large body of them in Meath, with the loſs of 700 of their beſt troops left dead on the field of battle. The brave Dalgais cut to pieces ſeveral hundreds of them at Ard-Breacan, about the ſame time; and the people of Tyrconnel gave a ſignal overthrow to a large body of them near Eaſruadh. The ſame ſucceſs attended the people of Cianachta; and at Loch-Gobhair, they loſt ſeveral hundreds more. The monarch ſoon after, in conjunction with the Lagenians, gave them battle at Glas-Glean, and 1700 of them with Saxolb, a commander of ſpecial note, fell in the engagement. But theſe ſucceſſes were but tranſitory; and the Danes had reſources, which the Iriſh

Iriſh had not. Beſides the numbers of them conſtantly crowding from their own barren ſoil, by their ſuperiority, both in Britain and France, they could recruit more expeditiouſly upon emergencies, than to wait for new ſuccours from the Baltic. Accordingly, in a little time the power of Turgeſius, was more abſolute than ever; and he availed himſelf of this power, by impoſing the ſevereſt hardſhips, and taking the moſt effectual methods to depreſs the ſpirit and deſtroy the power of the Iriſh, that barbarous and *uncultivated* cruelty could ſuggeſt. A. C.

CHAP. III.

Tyranny exerciſed by Turgeſius—caſe of the Moors of Granada and Huguenots of France after their reduction, very different from that of the Catholics of Ireland—juſtified for taking up arms on REVOLUTION *principles—unprecedented reſtraining laws paſſed againſt them, and the conſequences of them.*

THE forces of Turgeſius, numerous and well appointed, by the ſpoils of Ireland, and other adjacent countries, in their turn took the lead of the Iriſh, and triumphed every where. The wills of the conquerors became laws to the vanquiſhed, and theſe were of the moſt oppreſſive nature. Every diſtrict in the land, in which an Iriſh Taoiſeach or lord reſided, was obliged to entertain a Daniſh chief, to whom he was to ſubmit, and from whom he was to receive orders for the governing his people; for theſe laſt would receive no commands, but directly from their own chiefs. This preſerved the appearance of freedom amongſt the people, and at the ſame time rivetted their chains more ſtrongly. Every town, beſides its old magiſtrates, was ſuperintended by a captain with his company; every village had a ſerjeant; and in every farm-houſe in the country,

A. C. was a ſoldier lodged. All theſe the people were obliged to ſupport. Had this ſupport been ſuch as they could afford, it would be ſome alleviation to their miſeries; but this was not the caſe. Nothing the gentleman, the citizen, or the farmer poſſeſſed, could he ſafely call his own. The cattle, the corn, and proviſions, were at the diſpoſal of the rapacious ſoldiery. The citizen and the farmer dared not ſit down to their meals, in their own habitations, nor partake of the fruits of their induſtry, until theſe banditti were firſt ſatisfied. All orders in the ſtate were laid aſide; and the different coloured garments, by which the nobility, the literati, and the military were diſtinguiſhed, were forbid on ſeyere penalties. Univerſities and ſchools were filled with ſoldiers, churches and monaſteries with heathen prieſts, and ſuch of the clergy and literati as eſcaped the ſword, fled to deſerts and wilderneſſes, where many periſhed through want and cold! Religion and letters were interdicted; the nobility and gentry were forbid the uſe of arms; and the very ladies, of the education proper for their rank and ſtate! This was not enough: the maſter of every houſe in the land, was obliged to pay, annually, to Turgeſius's receivers, an ounce of gold; and this was exacted with ſuch rigour and cruelty, that ſuch as could not comply, were to forfeit the loſs of their noſe, or become ſlaves! hence this tax was called Airgid-Srone, or noſe-money. Such were the terms of peace, which the haughty Dane offered the Iriſh; and theſe, they thought, were better than a total extirpation, which muſt have followed their refuſal. Thus, though Malachie was the nominal monarch of Ireland amongſt his countrymen for many years, yet Turgeſius was in fact *the dictator*. The colouring in this picture of national diſtreſs is very far from being heightened, and is ſtrictly conſonant to the records of thoſe days. But, if we reflect on the characteriſtic barbarity of this motley aggregate of different nations, enemies to the religion and to the liberties

ties of Europe; and at the ſame time conſider, that A. C.
their tenures in different countries were by the ſword only, we will be leſs ſurpriſed at the ſavage cruelty, with which they ſupported every where their dominion. Should we be able to produce, even in the preſent enlightened age, not the lawleſs *beheſts* of ſavage banditti, but the cool and deliberate acts of national aſſemblies, in their effects as oppreſſive as thoſe already recited, and ſtill *leſs defenſible*, as being contrary to the faith of treaties and of nations, what will the public think of the framers and enforcers of them? and yet, lamentably to be told, ſuch is the caſe of Ireland at this very day!

The Spaniards have been ſeverely animadverted on, for their baniſhing the Moors their territories; and France has been highly cenſured for the revocation of the *edict of Nantz*. Viewed in a political light, nothing can be offered in vindication of either act; but, conſidered in a moral one, much may be ſaid to extenuate the charge of injuſtice in both inſtances.

With reſpect to the Moors, their anceſtors were Africans, enemies to Europe, by religion and by principle: they not only kept Spain under galling fetters for ſome centuries, but invaded France, and intended every where to eſtabliſh the *creſcent*, at the expence of the *croſs*. They were expelled France, and at length ſubdued in Spain, by the union of the houſes of Caſtile and Arragon; and now completely conquered, they were, by the law of arms, at the mercy of their enemies. In ſound policy, the moment they were deprived of power, that moment ſhould they ceaſe to be regarded with an inimical eye; and wiſe legiſlators would conſider only, how beſt they could make ſo conſiderable an acceſſion of new ſubjects uſeful to the ſtate. The wiſdom of Spaniſh councils on this occaſion MAY be arraigned, but not their juſtice.

As to the treatment of the reformed in France, it is evident, from hiſtory, that the conceſſions made to them were

A. C. were extorted by force and violence. They leagued with England and Germany; poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral cities, and bid defiance to their natural ſovereigns. By the NULLUM TEMPUS act, (even in England a law of the land) it is acknowledged, that no length of time or poſſeſſion, no preſcription whatever, can deprive the crown of a reſumption of her natural rights. It ſhould follow then, that graces extorted by force and rebellion, in more ſettled times, may be legally recalled. But let me not be ſuppoſed to be an advocate for any violence whatever, offered to people on account of religious principles. My ſoul abhors the thought; and, I think, every man ſhould be permitted to adore the Deity in what form he judges beſt, *whilſt his religious tenets are neither injurious to the ſtate, or to individuals.* With avowed principles of *univerſal toleration*, I wiſh not to offend any party of men; and, if I have hinted at the above facts, it is, that the reader may plainly ſee, in how different a light the hardſhips impoſed on the Iriſh catholics ſhould be conſidered from thoſe inflicted on the Moors of Granada, or the Proteſtants of France.

The only *moral* light, in which the Revolution of 1688 can be conſidered, in order to be juſtified, is, by admitting what the church of England formerly denied, and what numbers of its clergy deny at this day—i. e. "That whenever the ruling prince forfeits his corona-"tion oath, that moment the ſubjects become abſolved "from their allegiance;" and to give to this poſition its full force, we even ſhall grant what this Revolution ſufficiently proves—i. e. "That any infraction of this "oath, on the part of the ſovereign, is a full acquittal "of every tie of allegiance on thoſe of the ſubject." Still the Iriſh could not be juſtified in being EVEN PASSIVE, in this extraordinary Revolution. They, as well as the Engliſh, ſwore allegiance to James: if he trampled on the laws and liberties of the latter, the former had no charge of this kind to make. On the contrary, principles of grati-

tude,

tude, as well as of duty, called upon them to defend A. C.
and support his right to the kingdom of Ireland. I say of gratitude, becauſe it is evident, from the moment he came to the crown, that he had determined *to repeal the act of ſettlement*, and to reſtore to the Iriſh thoſe eſtates and honours, which, both he and they, thought that act had moſt unjuſtly deprived them of. This is not the place to enter into the nature of the laſt Iriſh war: it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to obſerve, that it was terminated by the famous capitulation of Limeric, agreed on the third, and ſigned the thirteenth of October, 1691, confirmed by the then lords juſtices in behalf of king William, and, after this, recognized by this prince in the moſt ample manner.

By this peace, the Iriſh Catholics continued poſſeſſed of their eſtates and properties, and the full exerciſe of their religion, ſuch as they enjoyed in the days of Charles II. on taking new oaths of allegiance to the preſent government; and the merchant, the artizan, and the agrarian, had every aſſurance of ſupport and protection. Such Iriſh as thought they could not in honour and conſcience transfer their allegiance to the new government, were at liberty to depart the kingdom, and carry with them their money, jewels, and other valuable effects, (William obliging himſelf to ſupply them, at his own expence, with ſeventy tranſports;) and no leſs than 20,000 embraced this alternative! By the voluntary emigration of ſuch a number of bold and reſtleſs ſpirits, an ample field was now opened to reſtore to *the peaceable ſons of Ireland*, that eaſe and tranquillity, which cruel inteſtine wars, for above five centuries, had deprived them and their anceſtors of; but that happy day was ſtill very remote!

The ſame zeal for religion, which animated the reformed to take up arms againſt James, and to expel him and his poſterity, ſeemed, now that they were poſſeſſed of national power, to abſorb every other public conſideration; and to it, arts, manufactures, commerce, tillage,

A. C. tillage, and whatever elſe is deemed to create national wealth and felicity, were ſacrificed! For, inſtead of conciliatory acts, inſtead of acts of general oblivion, inſtead of labouring to make the horrors of war be forgot in the happineſs of peace and plenty, the ſucceeding Iriſh parliaments ſeemed to direct all their views to *convert* and *reform* their new ſubjects, by *penal laws*, and to make wilful obſtinate recuſants feel the utmoſt force of them! Theſe laws were not ſimply confined to the nobility and gentry, but, with wonderful impartiality and perſpicuity, materially affected every order of men.

Roman Catholics were forbid, by ſevere penalties, to ſend their children abroad for education, whilſt at the ſame time, perſons of that perſuaſion were diſqualified from inſtructing them at home! Papiſts were declared incapable of purchaſing eſtates; and the eſtates of papiſts were decreed, to deſcend in Gavel-kind, ad infinitum; but if the eldeſt, or any other ſon reformed, he became heir at law! That the children of Papiſts ſhould be under no kind of dread or reſtraint of their parents; whoever choſe to become Proteſtants, was allowed by the court of Chancery, a ſtipend equal to the father's fortune during his life, and the inheritance on his deceaſe, how diſſolute and abandoned ſoever he might be! Papiſts were rendered incapable of inheriting by will, deſcent, or otherwiſe, any eſtate of Proteſtant relations, unleſs they reformed within the courſe of ſix months: they could not lend money on mortgages; and they were forbid even to wear that common mark of gentility, a ſword.

Beſides theſe and many other acts, levelled chiefly at the Catholic nobility and gentry, others were calculated to affect the farmer, the merchant, and the mechanic. An act paſſed, declaring Roman Catholics incapable of taking lands, farms, or houſes, for a longer term than thirty-one years; but in this act there was a clauſe of the

the moſt pernicious tendency to the induſtrious farmer, A. C.
and, through him, to the kingdom at large. For, it was not enough, that by circumſcribing the length of his tenures, the intereſt of the land-holder was, at beſt, but ſhort and precarious, and his inducements to improve, but few; by this act he was obliged *to pay two-thirds of the improved yearly value of ſuch land, otherwiſe it became the property of the firſt Proteſtant diſcoverer.* Papiſts were forbid to reſide in Limeric or Galway, (then great commercial cities) except fiſhermen and labourers; nor, even theſe, if they paid a greater rent than forty ſhillings a year each, for his holdings. Nay, popiſh artiſans were rendered incapable of taking more than two apprentices.

Whatever wiſe and pious intents were propoſed by theſe, and many other acts of parliament, equally new and unprecedented, yet the fact is, that they have been productive of the greateſt calamities, as well to the nation at large as to the parties more immediately affected by them, as they contributed very little towards the *converſion* of the Catholic natives; they of courſe laid them open to every ſcene of diſtreſs, poverty, and miſery, that can well be ſuppoſed. By their effects, the bonds of ſociety became diſſolved, and the peace of families deſtroyed! Parents were deprived of rewarding their dutiful, or puniſhing delinquent children! The kingdom ſwarmed with perjurers, blood-hounds, and diſcoverers; the lawyers were deeply intereſted in extending the ſpirit, force, and meaning of theſe acts, to their utmoſt limits, and the courts had little other buſineſs, but enforcing them. The act confining Papiſts to leaſes of thirty-one years, but particularly *obliging them to pay to the landlord full two-thirds of the profit rent,* was one of the moſt oppreſſive and iniquitous that ever was dictated! The reader will eaſily perceive that the other *third* was ſcarce ſufficient to pay the expence of tillage, much leſs to yield a profit rent to the farmer. If he took

A. C. took a leaſe below this valuation, after building and improving for three or four years, he was ſure to be diſpoſſeſſed. The diſtreſs and ruin brought on families, and on the kingdom, by it, are not to be expreſſed. The country became deſolate, country towns dwindled into wretched cottages, and theſe ſoon mouldered into duſt for want of trade and employment!

Still the cities continued opulent by their commerce, and the large exports, particularly of woollen goods, gave employ to thouſands. Their ſituations and circumſtances were no more overlooked than thoſe of the *very common peaſants*, who were forbid by *law* to take more than two acres of land each! Very ſoon after the Revolution, an act paſſed, directing two ſhillings in the pound duty to be paid for all Iriſh broad-cloths exported, and one ſhilling in the pound on narrow goods! This was ſucceeded, ſome time after, by a ſecond, which obliged the merchant to pay four ſhillings in the pound on broad-cloths, and two ſhillings in the pound on narrow goods ſhipped for foreign markets. A third followed, confining the exportation of woollen cloths to four pounds worth to the captain, and forty ſhillings worth to the ſailors of every ſhip, and no more; and this was ſoon after cloſed by a total prohibition! The conſequences of theſe rapacious and monopolizing acts, proved of the worſt conſequences to England. Through the interpoſition of the Iriſh nobility and gentry in France, the great Colbert was applied to, to give employment to our ſtarving manufacturers; they were called into France, and from that epocha, ſhe began the woollen manufacture, and, it now appears, is likely to become a formidable competitor with England in it!

The government of corporate towns being transferred to new hands, their rulers, the better to ingratiate themſelves with the higher powers, followed the example. Catholic merchants agreed to pay them the extra-

ordinary

ordinary duties, ſuch as aliens pay, for permiſſion to follow trade in their native cities; the manufacturers were obliged to pay heavy fines and quarterage to entitle them to purſue their different callings; nay, the very journeymen were compelled to pay theſe impoſitions, and theſe, in too many inſtances, were extorted with unheard-of cruelty. I ſhall not dwell upon theſe facts: they have been proved before the Houſe of Commons; they have been declared unlawful; and, notwithſtanding the *reiterated endeavours* of heads of cities and corporate towns for ſome years paſt, they have not been able to gain, for theſe acts of monopoly and oppreſſion, the force of law. Thus a profound and undiſturbed peace of eighty-ſix years, has proved, to a large majority of the natives of this kingdom, a period of moſt unheard-of afflictions; *and laws operating againſt induſtry, arts, and ſciences, have had the utmoſt ſucceſs.* The poor of Ireland, one of the moſt lovely and fruitful iſlands in the world, are, *at this day*, the moſt wretched and oppreſſed ſet of mortals the ſun ever ſhined on, and we are the laſt nation in Europe in arts, commerce and letters! In vain do "THESE "SONS OF LIBERTY" cry out againſt the baniſhing the Moors from Spain, and exclaim at the revocation of the edict of Nantz. It had been an happy circumſtance for the Iriſh had they been obliged, like the Moors to ſell their eſtates and quit the kingdom; they then would be able to carry property with them; but the *penal laws* deprived multitudes of this, and conſiderable families ſoon mouldered away. The laws of France operated, not on the properties, but the religion of the Huguenots; theſe of Ireland unhappily militate againſt both! A. C.

The bad policy in enacting theſe laws, is now acknowledged by men of ſenſe and candor, and *ſome faint unſucceſsful attemps* have been lately made to repeal, or rather mitigate a few of them; but no notice is taken of their injuſtice, or how ruinous they have been in their conſequences

A. C. quences both to Britain and Ireland; *being* the efficient cauſe of no leſs than four hundred and fifty thouſand Iriſh inliſting themſelves under the banners of France, from the year 1691 to the year 1745, inclusive!

CHAP. IV.

The Danes ſtill triumphant—Turgeſius demands the daughter of Malachie for a miſtreſs—Malachie conſpires to circumvent him, and reſtore liberty to his country—The Danes every where ſubdued—Miſtake of Keating, and ſingular character of Malachie.

THE oppreſſions the Iriſh nation laboured under continued during almoſt the entire of Malachie's reign; and, for a period of thirteen years, we read of no generous effort made by this prince to reſtore peace and liberty to his country, except the few attempts made in the firſt year of his adminiſtration. The event, however, proves, that far from wanting abilities, genius, or courage, he was, in the main, as great a ſtateſman and general as any nation produced; but the nerves, by which *only* theſe latent virtues could be called forth, had not yet ſuffered the ſmalleſt vibration. Neither the love of glory, or of his country, were the predominant paſſions of Malachie, as is evident by his abject paſſiveneſs for ſo many years; but the meaſure of the iniquities of Turgeſius, and of his barbarous hoſts, were now filled, and the vengeance of an afflicted people was to be ſatisfied.

Turgeſius, accuſtomed to the moſt paſſive obedience, and wantonly indulging every lawleſs paſſion, had ſeen the lovely Melcha, daughter to the monarch, and was reſolved to enjoy her. He found means to make his deſires known to her, but they were rejected with diſdain. He applies to the father, and probably with an intent to make

make her his wife, thereby to give ſome appearance of juſtice to the entailing the ſupreme command of Ireland in his family; but this laſt is a mere ſurmiſe of mine, unſupported by any authority. That he requeſted the father's intereſt to procure him the daughter, is certain; and now it was that theſe paſſions, which the love of his country could not inſpire, blazed forth; and, in the inſults offered to his name and family, Malachie wept over the diſtreſſes of his country, and ſought to remedy them. In order to gain time, he requeſted of Turgeſius two days to prepare his daughter for this ſacrifice; and, in return for this condeſcenſion, he engaged that ſhe ſhould be attended by fifteen of the fineſt virgins in Meath (for this tyrant's reſidence was near Tara), in order to be diſpoſed of among his principal favourites. The Dane agreeing to this, Malachie became more compoſed, and, we are told *, propoſed to him the following queſtion, probably to determine his own future conduct: "What," ſays he, "ſhall we do to clear the "country effectually of a parcel of foreign birds, lately "come among us, who are of a moſt peſtiferous na-"ture?" The tyrant, not aware of the tendency of the queſtion, anſwered, "If they build neſts, you can "never hope to root them out without deſtroying theſe "neſts every where." This plainly pointed out to Malachie that, in his meditating ſcheme of ruining the Danes, to enſure ſucceſs, he muſt deſtroy their caſtles and ſtrong holds alſo. A. C. 862

Malachie, immediately after this, retires to his palace, to conſider more at leiſure the conduct he ſhould purſue. To ſacrifice his daughter to an heathen Dane, the tyrant and uſurper of his country! his ſoul recoiled at the thought! The ſhortneſs of the time, and the numbers of Daniſh enemies, and ſpies in every nook in the

* Cambrenſ. Topogr. Hibern. Diſt. 3. c. 42.

kingdom,

A. C. kingdom, could not ſhake him from his purpoſe. With wonderful ſecrecy he had procured fifteen beardleſs young men, but with hearts burning to avenge the cauſe of their country; and theſe were to be attired in female habits, with each a dirk concealed, to attend the princeſs of Ireland to the caſtle of Turgeſius. He, at the ſame time, called together a few of his moſt faithful adherents, and opened to them his intentions. Expreſſes were alſo ſent, with the greateſt privacy, from prince to prince, and from chief to chief, exhorting them to fall every where on the perfidious Danes, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, on the day marked down, by which means they would be diſabled from affording relief to each other. During theſe preparations, the thoughts of love only filled the breaſt of the amorous Dane. He prepared a moſt ſumptuous banquet, to which he invited his chief favourites, to celebrate the reception of his miſtreſs with greater ſplendour. The evening of the fatal day approaches; the princeſs, with her attendants, advance towards the caſtle of Turgeſius, and the father, with a throbbing heart, anxious for the iſſue of theſe great events, prepares with his forces, ſecretly and ſpeedily to follow. The directions given to the young men were, the moment they perceived the Dane advancing towards the princeſs, they were to ſeize and manacle, but by no means to kill him. A ſign agreed on was then to be given, the gates to be burſt open, and Malachie and his party without were to force in, and put the garriſon to the ſword, Turgeſius only excepted; all which were executed with as much courage and exactneſs as they were planned with ſecrecy and wiſdom. Malachie, now in poſſeſſion of the tyrant, had him led in fetters in the midſt of his troops, the better to encourage his countrymen and intimidate the Danes, who, without head or hearts, fall every where an eaſy prey to the enraged Iriſh. In a ſhort time the kingdom became clear of their hoſtile troops,

troops, either falling in battle or eſcaping by their ſhips, A. C.
and an armed Dane was not to be ſeen in the land! Liberty became proclaimed, the remains of the clergy and the literati came forth from their lurking places, and many of thoſe who fled to France, returned. Churches and monaſteries were re-conſecrated, colleges and univerſities again opened, and ſuch works as could be gleaned, or had eſcaped the Daniſh conflagrations, were carefully collected. The glory of Malachie, and the greatneſs of his exploits, were the themes of the ſenachies and bards, and the kingdom re-echoed the ſound.

The foreigners being thus ſubdued, and their caſtles and ſtrong holds every where proſtrated, a national aſſembly of the eſtates was convened at Rath-Aodh, or the palace of Hugh, in Weſt-Meath. That no private animoſities ſhould obſtruct the public concerns, the clergy, who attended this aſſembly, took care firſt to reconcile the diſputes between the different great chiefs. The caſe of the remains of theſe aliens, who eſcaped the firſt fury of the enraged Iriſh, was taken into conſideration: they were ſtill numerous, and at the mercy of their enemies. Sound policy ſuggeſted rage; and it was evident that they might be converted, with care, to uſeful ſubjects of the ſtate, poſſeſſing ſome arts, and not totally unacquainted with trade. It was, however, decreed, that Turgeſius ſhould be put to death; and it was done in the moſt public manner, being thrown into Loch-Ainin, bound hand and foot, in the preſence of his ſurviving countrymen, and thouſands of other ſpectators. This public ſacrifice being over, a general amneſty paſſed, by which the captive Danes became emancipated, and liberty was granted them to live in the maritime towns, and purſue commerce and manufactures under certain regulations. What other uſeful acts were paſſed in this aſſembly, we are not told; and, it is ſurpriſing, that the ſtate of their navy, and

the

A. C the neceſſity of keeping up a conſiderable fleet, did not then occur to them. It is, however, highly probable that it did, though no knowledge of it has come to us.

Internal peace and order being happily reſtored by one of the moſt ſudden, violent, and ſucceſsful revolutions that hiſtory can produce; the next care of Malachie was to announce this glorious event to his foreign allies. We are particularly told, that, by his ambaſſadors to Charles the Bald, king of France, he ſent rich preſents—probably ſome of the ſpoils of the Danes *—and a requeſt to grant to him, and to his retinue, ſafeguards through France, in his paſſage to Rome, where he intended going on a pilgrimage, to return God thanks for the happy delivery of his country from foreign tyranny; but a natural death ſoon after, prevented the execution of his pious intentions, and he was interred, with great funeral pomp, at Chean-Mac-Nois.

We are ſurpriſed to read in Keating, and other hiſtorians, that after this deſtruction of the Danes, and the proſtration of all their caſtles and forts, which Malachie gave a particular charge to ſee executed, that he was again obliged to make war on them; and particularly for their putting to death Maolgualа, king of Munſter; but this proceeds from not properly adverting to dates, for this prince fell in the beginning of Malachie's reign; nor was there, for ſome years after, any of theſe people capable of moleſting the public tranquillity. The glory which this prince acquired in the decline of life, ſhews how little we can depend upon the general tenor of conduct in kings, to determine their real abilities. We ſee him, in the beginning of his adminiſtration, exert himſelf with activity in the cauſe of his country; but freſh enemies conſtantly pouring in, ſo haraſſed his troops, and diſpirited himſelf, that, like the preſent king of Poland,

* Ware's Antiquities, chap. xxiv. from the Chronicles of Normandy.

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he judged the *very ſhadow of monarchy, though at the ruin of his country*, was preferable to a deſperate exertion of power to recover the whole, or periſh in the attempt. For thirty years timid, paſſive counſels determined his conduct; and we ſhould know little of his real character, or amazing abilities, had not the ſpring to theſe paſſions been happily put in motion. No meaſures of prudence were now regarded. The Danes, poſſeſſed of all the ſtrong holds in the kingdom, powerful at ſea; reſources eaſy to be procured from Britain and Armoric Gaul, in caſe of neceſſity, diſperſed over every part of the land, and commanding every where. Yet all theſe dangers appeared as nothing in his eyes; the moment the honour of his family was attacked, and he projected, and ſucceeded, in one of the boldeſt enterprizes that human genius could imagine, to preſerve his daughter; whilſt, with half this vigour, and not half the danger, he might have, long before that, deſtroyed them, had he been as active in the cauſe of his country! A. C.

CHAP. V.

Of Aodh VII. and the artifices of the Danes to gain a new footing in Ireland—become again terrible to the natives—reign of Flan, and his invaſion of South Munſter—ſingular reaſon for entering North Munſter, and his defeat there—the Danes avail themſelves of theſe inteſtine broils—of Cormac, king of Munſter—cauſe of his invading Leinſter—his will—defeat and death in the battle of Maigh-Ailbe.

AODH, or Hugh VII. the ſon of Niall-Caille, ſucceeded to the monarchy. Though the Danes, as a military people, were expelled the kingdom, yet the fer- 864

A. C. tility of the ſoil, and beauty of the country, but more, its immenſe riches, were continual ſtimulants to them to pant for a repoſſeſſion of it. To attempt this, by force, they ſaw impracticable; as, by the convention at Rath-Aodh, all parts of the kingdom had confederated to oppoſe theſe foreign invaſions. After much conſultations, the following project, ſays Cambrenſis, was agreed to. Three brothers, Amelanus, Sitaracus, and Ivorus, commanders of great abilities, fitted out a conſiderable fleet, conſiſting of merchandiſe, but in which large quantities of arms were concealed; and the better to deceive the vigilance of the Iriſh, they were divided into three ſquadrons. One ſailed up the Shannon, to diſpoſe of their goods at Limeric, commanded by Ivorus. He waited upon Lachtna, king of North Munſter, preſented him with ſome rare curioſities, requeſting his permiſſion to ſettle in that city, with his people, in the way of traffic, and promiſing extraordinary duties for this liberty. In like manner, Amelanus was permitted to ſettle in Dublin, by the king of Leinſter; and Sitaracus in Waterford, by the prince of the Deaſies. Cambrenſis, and the Polychronicon, affirm, that by theſe three leaders were theſe cities for the firſt time built; but the reader cannot forget that they were cities of note long before Chriſtianity, and that the trade of Dublin, in particular, was ſo great in theſe early days, that a moſt bloody war broke out, in the decline of the ſecond century, between the monarch Con and the king of Munſter, to determine to whom the duties upon exports and imports, in that city, ſhould be paid. Add to this, that St. Patrick celebrates it for its great trade, riches, and ſplendor; and, as to Waterford, the name of it in Iriſh ſufficiently declares its ancient commerce, being called Port-Lairge, or the harbour in form of a thigh; ſo that if it had not been noted for trade, it would not have got the name of Port.

Theſe

Theſe chiefs now laid themſelves out to pay their court to the different princes in whoſe territories they had got footing. They entered into their intereſts, ſoothed their paſſions, and engaged to ſupport their different claims. It muſt be confeſſed that the Iriſh have a greater *milkineſs* of temper than any other nation; and Engliſh writers, and Engliſh governors, whilſt they have been plundering them of their property, and forming the moſt iniquitous ſchemes againſt them, abundantly acknowledge how much gentle words could pacify them. We muſt not then be ſurpriſed that the Daniſh intrigues proved ſo ſucceſsful. As the faſt friends and allies of theſe Iriſh princes, they were permitted to purchaſe land, and erect caſtles and ſtrong holds for their ſecurity; and by this means, and the acceſſion of freſh forces, under the diſguiſe of merchants and travellers, they became very formidable friends in a ſhort time. A.C.

Thus Amelanus, or (as he is called in our annals) Amhlaoibh, uniting with the Lagenians attacked the forces of Connor, the ſon of Donough, governor of Meath, and defeated them at Clonaird. Amongſt the ſlain was this Connor, who fell by the ſword of Humphry, a Daniſh prince. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, and joined by freſh forces, Amelanus, the ſpring following, makes a ſudden incurſion into Ulſter, ſurpriſes Ardmach, and after plundering the churches and ſacred places of their riches, ſet fire to them, putting, at the ſame time, to the ſword, above a thouſand people, clergy and laity. The monarch haſtily collected a body of men, and came up with the incendiaries, and their Iriſh allies, at Lough-Foil, in the county of Donegal. The action was long and ſevere, but victory at length declared in favour of Aodh. Of the Danes only, twelve hundred were ſlain in the field, with forty officers of note: how many of their allies fell on that day, is not ſaid. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the monarch attacks their caſtles and garriſons,

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A. C. riſons, recovering a conſiderable part of the booty they had taken. Among other exploits, he ſet fire to the caſtle of Ciuan-Dalcham, near Dublin, and put the garriſon, and numbers of their beſt commanders, then ſhut
869 up there, to the ſword. To revenge theſe affronts Amelanus, ſoon after, laid an ambuſcade, and ſurpriſed, and put to the ſword, or made priſoners, about two thouſand Iriſh. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Amelanus, with his Iriſh aſſociates, takes the field; but Aodh, at the head of one thouſand cavaliers, and as many foot, mounted on the troop-horſes, for the greater expedition, attacked their army ſo courageouſly and ſeaſonably, that, of above five thouſand men, of which it was compoſed, few eſcaped the ſlaughter. Soon after Amelanus, and his brother Ivorus, collected their beſt troops, and haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Hinguar and Hubba, their allies, then hard preſſed by the Welſh. For it was a policy ſucceſsfully practiſed by this people, when they found themſelves too cloſely preſſed in different places, to give up one or two, for a time, in order to be more ſucceſsful in a third; and, when they had eſtabliſhed their power in the laſt place, to return with greater forces to the former. The hiſtories of France and England, as well as Ireland, ſufficiently proved this, and will clearly explain why they ſo ſpeedily recruited their forces, and triumphed over troops which, a little before, they retreated from. Their ſucceſs in Wales was ſo great, in this laſt expedition, that Roger, the ſon of Moirman, king of the Britons, fled to Ireland for refuge, and was moſt honourably entertained by the monarch.

For the remainder of this reign we read of no farther hoſtile attempts of the Danes; and in this time many churches and public edifices were rebuilt and re-edified. Among others, Ardmach, Kildare, Skelig St. Michael, in the county of Kerry, &c. reſumed their former ſplendour; but the Daniſh depredations on the Engliſh and Scottiſh

Scottiſh coaſts were ſo great, that the rich ſhrine of St. Columba was, for its greater ſecurity, in 875, conveyed to Ireland, from the iſle of Huy. The monarch at length departed this life in peace, the 20th of November, 879, with the character of a good prince, a good ſoldier, and a good chriſtian. A. C.

Flan-Sionna, ſon of the intrepid Malachie, was called to the throne. His reign commenced with a ſudden invaſion of Munſter, in which he carried every thing before him. Ceanfaola, (not Maolguala, with Keating), was at this time king of Munſter, and at the ſame time abbot of Emely; and we cannot be ſurpriſed at the ſucceſs of the monarch againſt ſuch an enemy. We are told in the Pſalter of Caſhill, that the monarch became ſo elated at this ſucceſs, that one day, in preſence of his generals and his court, he declared that he would enter hoſtilely into any territory in Ireland, and that with as much ſafety, and as little fear of an enemy, as if he had been on a royal tour; and, in conſequence of this confidence, he announced his intentions of amuſing himſelf at cheſs on his march home. Mac Lonnan, the chief bard, who thought it his duty to check ſuch vain ſallies, anſwered, that if he went into the Dal-Gas territories, or thoſe of Thomond, in the ſame manner, and offered ſuch marks of contempt to that intrepid race, he would ſoon ſee the difference between invading the territories of a warrior and of a prieſt. Enraged at this tart remark, Flan ordered the tents to be immediately ſtruck, and directed his march towards Thomond; but Lorcan, king of that country, alarmed at the invaſion of South Munſter, had already collected his forces, apprehenſive of ſuch a viſit. As ſoon as he had croſſed the Shannon, and advanced ſome miles into the country, he pitched his tents, and ordered the cheſs-tables to be produced, that himſelf and his chief commanders might ſit down to play. Lorcan was a prince of uncommon intrepidity, 879 881

A. C. intrepidity, and beſides poſſeſſed of great abilities for the field or the cabinet; and deemed this mark of contempt a greater indignity than the invaſion itſelf. Scarce had Flan and his officers begun their games, when the Dalgais broke into their camp, overturned the tables, and called the monarch to another party. Both armies immediately engaged with great fury, and night only ended the conteſt for the preſent. The battle was renewed next morning with the riſing ſun, and continued until night. It was a point of honour that gave riſe to the whole diſpute; and this only could end with the deſtruction of one party or the other, for neither would retreat. It ended indeed the evening of the third day, but with the deſtruction of almoſt the entire of the imperial army; and Flan himſelf was obliged to ſend this very Mac Lonnan to Lorcan, to beg a ſafe guard for himſelf and the remainder of his ſhattered forces, which was immediately granted. This battle, and the conſequences of it, proclaim but too much the natural diſpoſitions of the Iriſh to contention; and how ready they were, on the moſt trifling occaſions, to ruſh wantonly into battle. It however proves that their very manner of giving offence had ſomething in it noble and manly. In 888, Ceanfaola, king of Munſter died, and was ſucceeded by Donogh, the ſon of Duibh-Dabhorean, of the ſame Eugenian ſtock.

The Danes, from their ſucceſſes in Britain and Gaul, were enabled to reinforce their garriſons in Ireland; and they availed themſelves of the ſupineneſs of their enemies; for in 883, they invaded Leinſter, and plundered many rich churches and abbies, particularly thoſe of Kildare and the Naas, returning to Dublin, loaded with ſpoils, and 280 captives, amongſt whom was Suine, the ſon of Duibh-Dabhorean, prior of Kildare, and other eccleſiaſtics of prime quality, who were ranſomed at a very great expence. In 885, the monarch Flan attacked Dublin, but his army was defeated, and amongſt the ſlain

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was Largiſius, biſhop of Kildare. The death of this prelate ſhews, that the ordinance of Aodh VI. diſpenſing prelates from attending the royal army, was not perpetual. In 890, the Danes made a ſudden incurſion into Ulſter, plundering the churches of Ardmach, and returning with an immenſe booty, and a vaſt number of captives. They at the ſame time eſtabliſhed a colony at Loch-Foil; and the lake was covered with their ſloops and boats, from which they at times, ſorely diſtreſſed the adjacent parts. The monarch enraged at theſe repeated depredations, and particularly for their again plundering Kildare, the Naas, Cluanaird, &c. engaged then in a moſt bloody battle, remarkable only for its carnage, without any viſible advantages to either party. The next year gave riſe to a freſh engagement, in which the monarch kept the field, but his loſs was very conſiderable In 893, the Danes about Loch-Foil, collected a conſiderable force, and plundered Ardmach; and the year after, notwithſtanding the diſtreſſes of the kingdom, inſtead of convening the national eſtates, and renewing the general confederacy of Rath-Aodh, we find Flan collecting a mighty army, again to invade Munſter; but what the ſucceſs of this ſecond expedition was, we are not told.

A. C. 890 894

Our annals are ſilent as to other public events, until the year 902, when Cormoc, the ſon of Cuillenan, was proclaimed king of Munſter, on the death of Donogh. He was at the ſame time archbiſhop of Caſhill or Munſter, and thus united the regal and pontifical dignities. However, there was nothing ſingular in this in Ireland, any more than in other countries; for two of his predeceſſors, and of the ſame Eugenian line, to wit, Olchubhar; and Cean-Foala, were abbots of Emely, whilſt kings of munſter; and Muredach, the ſon of Bran, contemporary with Cean-Foala, was at the ſame time abbot of Kildare, and king of Leinſter. Not to mention ſacred

A. C. sacred history, where we find many Jewish princes high-priests, Mahomet, and many of his successors, under the title of caliphs, ruled both in spirituals and temporals. The reign of the immaculate Cromwell, and his pious hosts, will not be soon forgot. He was at the same time protector and high-priest, and his officers acted as justices, clergymen, and soldiers occasionally; so that his administration might be called the *church militant*. Thus Anius in Virgil:

"Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, PHOEBIQUE SACERDOS!"

Some time after Cormoc was proclaimed king of Munster, he paid a visit to Lorcan, king of Thomond. This prince, not content to punish Flan for his invasion of his territories, by defeating his army, fitted a large fleet of sloops and small craft on the Shannon, from which he made sudden incursions on both sides that river, returning home with considerable booty, both from Meath and Conaught. Cormoc and his retinue were entertained by this prince, with all the expensive profusion of Irish banquets, and returned to Cashill with hostages from eleven out of twelve of the counties of
903 which Thomond was then composed. The next year Lorcan returned Cormoc's visit, and was assigned the northern half of the palace of Cashil, for himself and his retinue; but these visits were something more than ceremony. Domhnal, the son of Cathil, and king of Conaught, was collecting a large army to invade Thomond; and it was necessary to be prepared for this event.
904 The invasion took place, but with little success. The
905 next year Flan again entered Munster, and penetrated with his forces as far as Limeric; but was obliged to re-
906 treat. Lorcan uniting his forces with those of Cormoc, composed a very considerable army, and with it they invaded Meath. The monarch met them on the plains of

of Maigh-Lena, ſo memorable for the bloody engagement between the monarch Con, and Engan, king of Munſter, in the ſecond century. The battle ſoon commenced, and Elan and his army were defeated. A. C.

Cormoc is repreſented by our hiſtorians as a prince of exemplary piety, juſtice, and learning. The cauſes generally aſſigned for his invading Leinſter, and in which attempt he loſt his life, by no means juſtifies this character. It is ſaid he undertook this war, to reclaim the tribute paid to Munſter, from the days of Conaire the Great, by the Lagenians, for the murder of his father, but which had not been demanded for near two centuries paſt; and therefore by diſuſe, was in a manner aboliſhed. The fact was not ſo; and that valuable tract, the book of Lecan, proves it.

In the beginning of the eighth century were ſix brothers, all the deſcendants of the Egonachts of South Munſter, men of unfeigned piety, and who had dedicated themſelves to monaſtic lives. Eminus, one of them, had obtained from the Lagenians a track of ground, near the river Barrow, on which he erected a monaſtery endowed with particular privileges. By the religious vows of his order, they were to taſte neither meat or butter, and no Leinſter ſubjects were to be received into this houſe, except approved of by the abbot. The fame of this monaſtery, and the great auſterity of its monks, drew numbers of people to it, ſo that it became in ſome time a conſiderable city. It was called Ros-Glas, and as the abbey was compoſed entirely of Munſter men, the word Muimneach, was added to it. It was named alſo from this Eminus, or Evinus, Monaſter Evin, and which name it goes by to this day. Cearbhuil, king of Leinſter, had taken poſſeſſion of this houſe, for the uſe of his own people, and the exiled monks applied to Cormoc. It was a religious diſpute, and he entered into it with alacrity. His confident and firſt miniſter, was the abbot

A. C. bot of Inis-Catha, or Scattery, of the same blood with himself, but violent and positive in his temper. He represented it as the cause of God and of religion; and nothing but a most exemplary punishment could atone for this sacrilege. The monarch interferes, and the king of Leinster sends ambassadors, and offers his son as an hostage to restore all matters to their pristine order. This proposal, though it satisfied Cormoc, could not appease the abbot. In short, he so worked on the temper of the king, that an invasion of Leinster was resolved on; and in which we find the two Munsters engaged! For he sent for Lorcan, king of Thomond, and declared in the presence of his council, that he should in justice, and agreeable to the will of their common ancestor Oilioll, succeed him as king of Leath-Mogha. Whilst the army was collecting and preparing for this expedition, he seemed to have a prescience of his own death. He made his last will, and prepared for a speedy dissolution. This will is yet extant, both in prose and verse. In the last, his most costly sacred vestments, he bequeaths to the abbot of Inis-Catha; his clock, which called him to his devotions, to the nunnery on the river Fergus; his royal robes, embroidered with gold, and set with costly jewels, were to be deposited in the monastery of Roscrea, to the care of the order of St. Cronan; his armour and coat of mail, he bequeathed to the king of Ulster; his gold chain to St. Muchuda; the rest of his wardrobe to Mac Gleinin; and his PSALTER, which he faithfully transcribed from ancient records, he ordered to be deposited at Cashel, as a monument to future ages. He left gold and silver chalices, vestments, and presents of gold and silver, to the principal churches of the kingdom.

The Munster army at length entered Leinster in three divisions. The first was commanded by the abbot of Inis-Catha, and the prince of Offory; the second by Cormoc himself; and the third by the prince of the Deasies.

Deaſies. The Lagenians were not behind hand in their preparations, yet ſtill made one effort more to peace. It was the cuſtom on theſe occaſions, to ſend heralds to announce the time and place of action; and in return to the challenge of Cormoc, the Lagenians again ſued for peace, which the principal officers thought equitable, but which the councils of the abbot Flabhertach over-ruled. The battle that enſued was fatal to the Mamonians; and it is agreed on, that neither their officers or ſoldiers entered into it with ſpirit. But had they conſidered, that though this war was not to their liking, yet ſtill when the battle commenced, that on their own bravery their ſafety depended, their defeat would not be ſo conſiderable, nor their loſs ſo great as it was. This bloody battle was fought in the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, and from the place is called the battle of Belach-Muga, or of Magh-Ailbe. It is ſaid, that as ſoon as the ſignal for engaging was thrown out, that Ceilliochar, one of Cormoc's leaders, who commanded a body of horſe, rode through the ranks, and called aloud to his men to retreat; that the war was a wanton one; a war of prieſts; and to them it ſhould be left to decide it. On this he clapped ſpurs to his horſe and quitted the field, followed by many of his people, which greatly diſpirited others. The engagement, however, continued with great obſtinacy, for many hours, notwithſtanding that the monarch fought on the Leinſter ſide; but the Mamonians at length ſuffered a moſt complete defeat; 6000 of their braveſt veterans, with numbers of officers, beſides Cormoc himſelf, fell that day, with many princes and nobles. Amongſt theſe were O'Felan, prince of the Deaſies, in the county of Waterford; O'Keefe, prince of Fermoigh; O'Liathan, prince of that territory, now called Barrymore; O'Shaghneſſy, prince of Aidhne, now called Killtartan, in the county of Galway, (then in exile); Mac Ennery, prince of Ui-Connel, or Upper-Connells,

A. C.

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A. C. Connells, in the county of Limeric; O'Sullivan, prince of Dunkerman, in the county of Kerry; Madigan, brother to Donogh, late king of Munſter; Fitz Patrick, prince of Offory, and many others. To account in ſome meaſure for the numbers of prime quality that fell in this battle on the ſide of Munſter, it is to be noticed, that this Eminus, was deemed the chief ſaint and protector of the Eogonachts. So much ſo, that his conſecrated bell, which was called Bernan-Emhin, was what was ſwore upon in ſolemn trials, by all this tribe, and always depoſited with the Mac Egan's, hereditary chief juſtices of South Munſter. The bell of St. Sennanus (or ſome other for it), is ſtill religiouſly preſerved in the Weſt of the county of Clare; and to ſwear by it falſly, at this day, it is agreed upon by the common people, would be immediately followed by convulſions and death. If theſe are acts of ſuperſtition, the ſenſible reader will, however, agree with me, that they are arts innocent in themſelves, calculated for the beſt purpoſes, and for the meridian in which they prevail. After the battle, the body of Cormoc was ſearched for, and his head, taken off, was preſented by ſome ſoldiers to the monarch Flan, in hopes of a great reward; but this generous prince upbraided them for their cruelty, ordered them out of his preſence; and it is ſaid even kiſſed the head, lamenting the loſs of ſo wiſe a prince, and ſo religious a prelate. He then directed the body to be ſought for, and ordered both to be delivered to Monach, the confeſſor of Cormoc, to be interred with ſuitable honours, where his will had appointed.

Amongſt the priſoners of note taken in the above battle, was Flabhertach, the cauſe of all this dreadful carnage. It is highly honourable to the ancient clergy of Ireland, that, though they had ſome hot-headed prieſts amongſt them, who were the cauſe of much blood being ſpilt, as St. Columba in the ſixth, and the abbot of Inis-Catha in this century, who were both of the blood-royal;

royal; yet far from being countenanced in theſe hoſtile deeds (though both contended for the privileges of the church) we find them puniſhed by the clergy. The firſt was baniſhed to Scotland, and this laſt impriſoned for two years, and then ordered to a ſevere penance in his monaſtery of Scattery. Dubhlactna ſucceeded to the throne of Munſter, and reigned ſix years. A. C.

After a long reign of thirty-ſix years and ſome months, Flan-Sionna departed this life, the 8th of June, 916. Whatever his abilities might be, his actions diſplayed little of magnanimity or ſound policy. A ſmall exertion of either, conſidering the length of his adminiſtration, would have effectually freed his country from theſe vile incendiaries the Danes, and ſaved the nation from new ſcenes of cruelty and barbarity.

CHAP. VI.

State of letters in the tenth age—Clement and Albin firſt regents of the univerſities of Paris and Pavia—a miſtake of M. Fleury's corrected, and a farther account of Clement—of Dungal, Donatus, Moengal, Feidhlim, the abbot Patrick—of the celebrated Scotus, and ſome account of his works—a different perſon from John Scotus, profeſſor at Oxford—of Ornulphus and Buo—remarks on the erection of ſchools in France—decay of Iriſh hoſpitable houſes there.

IT is agreed on, that the firſt univerſities founded on the continent, were thoſe of Paris and Pavia, and that Claude Clement was regent of the firſt, and Albin of the other, who were both *Scots*. They got the title of univerſities, to diſtinguiſh them from ſchools; as in the firſt, profeſſors were appointed to inſtruct in every ſcience,

A. C. ſcience, whereas in ſchools, particular branches of literature *only* were taught; as philoſophy in one, divinity in another, and ſo on. From the name of Scots given to Clement and Albin, former North Britiſh writers have vainly claimed them as their countrymen; but nothing is more clear than that they were Scots of Ireland, which was the only country known by that name, from the third to the eleventh century, as the learned Uſher, and all our hiſtorians and antiquaries, have proved. I have ſaid, former North Britiſh writers have attempted to make them citizens of Caledonia, becauſe the preſent race ſeem in uniſon that their anceſtors were totally illiterate, ſo that the fact does not now admit of litigation; but to ſuch as may entertain the leaſt doubt of this matter, I muſt refer them to authorities that cannot be controverted *.

Some epiſtles of Albin are yet extent, and the works of Clement were ſo many, and ſo erudite, that a learned writer of the fourteenth century affirmed, "That by "the works of Clement, an Iriſhman, the French might "be compared to the Athenians and Romans †."

Fleury ‡, makes of Claude Clement two diſtinct people. The firſt, he ſays, was a Spaniard, and biſhop of Turin, the laſt an Iriſh Scot, the ſucceſſor to Alcuin in the ſchools of the palace of Charlemagne. However, all ancient writers agree that, not the ſchools of the palace, but the univerſity of Paris was founded by Clement, and this before Alcuin put his foot into that capital. Some affirm that he was, after this, conſecrated biſhop of Auxerre; but this is a manifeſt anachroniſm, as Claude of Auxerre flouriſhed much earlier.

* Hibern. Reſurgens. Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 696. Prim. Eccleſ. Brit. Lynch's Letter, at the end of Ogygia vindicated. Harris's Iriſh Writers, p. 54, &c.

† Bebenburgius de Zelo Veter. Princip. German.

‡ Hiſt. Eccl. vol. x. p. 28.

The

The great probability is, that he was made biſhop of Turin, as, under that title, he became ſo noted for his writings; and of courſe, ſuppreſſing his ſirname, he might be eaſily taken for a different perſon. M. Fleury acknowledges, that Clement was regent of the ſchool, and that Claude lectured in divinity there, and was, after this, biſhop of Turin: but the fact is, that the regent was alſo profeſſor of divinity, and of courſe biſhop of Turin; and that this was the caſe, we ſee, by the works, which M. Fleury attributes to this writer, appearing to be the very ſame which Colgan, Uſher, Harris, &c. give to Claude Clement *. A. C.

The great erudition of Clement, his expoſitions of many books of the Old and New Teſtament, and his talents, as a preacher, determined Louis, the ſucceſſor of Charlemagne, to have him conſecrated biſhop of Turin, in which dioceſs many abuſes had ariſen. The Greek church had been long divided about the queſtion of *images*, and our new biſhop proved himſelf a violent *Iconoclaſt*. It appears that, in his dioceſs, great abuſes had been committed through the extreme ignorance of the people and clergy, inſomuch that theſe images, which were intended to excite devotion, and a lively imitation of the ſanctity of thoſe they repreſented, rather increaſed the ſuperſtition of the people! He endeavoured to reclaim them by preaching and exhortations; but his zeal carried him ſo far as to break and deſtroy moſt of theſe images, and even remove the croſſes from ſeveral churches. He defended theſe outrages by ſeveral learned writings, and was anſwered by ſome, but by none in ſo maſterly a manner as by a countryman of his own—Dungal, a celebrated theologian, who was one of theſe clergy who happily eſcaped the firſt Daniſh proſcription, fled to France, and became a monk of St. Denis, near Paris. He wrote a treatiſe

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. vol. x. p. 345.

Pro

A. C. *Pro Cultu Sacrarum Imaginum*, &c. in which he diſtinguiſhed between the uſe and abuſe of images, conformable to the doctrines of the church; and accuſed Claude of his intemperate abuſe of images, of reviving the hereſies of Eunomius and Vigilance. This work he dedicated to the emperors Louis and Lothaire. Fleury * tells us he was a foreigner, without aſcertaining his country; but had we no other proofs of it but his name, it would ſufficiently point out his country †.

Donat was one of the numbers who fled from Ireland, to avoid the butchery of the Danes, in this age, and retired to an hermitage in Tuſcany, from whence he was called to the biſhopric of Fieſole. Some works are attributed to him; but a Latin Deſcription of Ireland, beginning with "Finibus Occidius deſcribitur "Optima Tellus," it was agreed on was wrote by him. Colgan promiſed to publiſh his life, in his Liſt of Iriſh Saints, for the month of October; but of this great work, his Trias Thaumaturga, and Lives of Saints for the firſt three months only, have appeared.

Moengal, by the Latins Marcellus, was an Iriſh monk of the order of St. Columbanus, who eſcaped the fury of the Danes, with his uncle biſhop Marcus. Returning from Rome, he came to the abbey of St. Gall, to viſit Grimoald, abbot of that monaſtery, with others, his countrymen, there reſiding. He was requeſted to remain there and ſuperintend the ſchools of that houſe, to which the children of the princes and nobility, from a great diſtance, were ſent for education. He wrote *Homill. in Lect. Evangel.* which work is ſaid to be yet extant.

Feidlemid-Mac-Criomthan, who had reſigned the crown of Munſter, in this century, for a monaſtic life, is ſaid, in his retreat, to have wrote ſome tracts, as well

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. vol. i. p. 257. † Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 256, 257.

hiſtorical

historical as devotional; but both the works and their very titles are loſt. A. C.

Patrick, abbot of Ardmagh, wrote a *Book of Homilies and Letters to the Iriſh Nation.* He retired to Britain from the Daniſh fury, and died in the abbey of Glaſtonbury: his feaſt is celebrated on the 24th of Auguſt; and from the name, many have aſſerted that it was not this Patrick, but the celebrated apoſtle of Ireland, that was interred in that famous abbey. Uſher gives a large account of this matter *.

The celebrated Scotus, called John Erigena, eſcaped the Daniſh perſecution in 846, and fled to France, with other religious. His great erudition, his aſſiduity and penetrating genius, ſo far gained the affection of Charles the Bald, then king of France, that he lodged him in his palace, and even made him eat at the ſame table with himſelf †. At the requeſt of this monarch, he tranſlated from the original Greek, into Latin, the works of St. Denis; and through his influence was he prevailed upon, by Hincmarius, archbiſhop of Rheims, and Pardulus, biſhop of Laon, to undertake the defence of the church againſt the attacks of the *Predeſtinarians.* This work is addreſſed to theſe prelates, in which he acknowledges the great honour done him in deigning him worthy ſo great a taſk. Queſtions concerning *grace, predeſtination*, and abſtracted ſubjects of this kind, often bewilder the imagination, and are perpetual ſources of ſcepticiſm. He profeſſed to follow cloſely the doctrine of St. Auguſtine; but this work was condemned in the third council of Valence, as was, in later times, a ſimilar work wrote by Janſenius, biſhop of Ypres; though, like our Scotus, he alſo pretended the authority of Auguſtine for what he advanced. Soon after the appearance of this work of Scotus, we find it warmly attacked

* Primord. p. 890, &c.

† Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 440.

A. C. by Prudentius, biſhop of Troyes; the church of Lyons alſo employed the deacon Florus, a celebrated theologian, to refute it; and many others entered into the controverſy. In their anſwers, they charge Scotus with the doctrines of Pelagius; and it would ſeem, by them, as if his writings were not only condemned, but he himſelf confined for publiſhing them.

The controverſy of the Euchariſt became a new ſubject of diſpute amongſt theſe ſubtle theologians; and Charles, who knew nothing of the matter, was frequently appealed to, on both ſides. Hincmarius and Scotus were, however, his oracles; to them he moſtly appealed, and, at this time, Scotus was particularly conſulted by him *. This would ſeem to refute the inſinuation of his being confined; but, be that as it may, the treatiſe he wrote on this ſubject met as many opponents as the former, and was, at laſt, condemned in the council at Verceil, A. C. 1050. Even his tranſlation of Dionyſius's works were not well received, particularly at Rome. We are told, that pope Nicholas wrote to Charles about this tranſlation, complaining that the author, though a man of great erudition, was ſuſpected of not being orthodox; and, therefore, that the book ſhould have been firſt ſent to him, for his approbation, before it was publiſhed †. So many, and ſuch powerful enemies, united againſt a ſingle man, and a ſtranger, made Charles apprehend for his ſafety, and he recommended to him to return to his native country, eſpecially, as by the late deſtruction of the Danes, religion and liberty were again eſtabliſhed there. Scotus returned to Ireland in 864, and died there in 874. Some writers ſuppoſe our John the ſame who was invited by king Alfred to ſuperintend the ſchools at Oxford; but Fleury

* Dupin's Eccleſ. Hiſtory, cent. 9.

† Spotſwood's Church Hiſtory. Harris's Writers of Ireland.

tells

tells us, that this laſt was a Saxon born, but educated in France, and by no means to be confounded with John Scotus *. The writings of this great man were very numerous; and, we ſuppoſe, his aſtoniſhing erudition, abilities, and high favour with Charles the Bald, made him be treated with much greater ſeverity, by his contemporaries, than he deſerved. He was not only a complete maſter of the Greek and Latin, but alſo of the oriental languages; and this circumſtance alone, proves the flouriſhing ſtate of letters in Ireland in theſe days. How diſtinguiſhed a figure our literati cut in France at this time, may be collected from what Eric of Auxerre, in his letter to Charles the Bald, ſays—"Why do I ſpeak of Ireland?" ſays he, "that whole nation, almoſt "deſpiſing the dangers of the ſea, reſort to our coaſts "with a numerous train of philoſophers, of whom, the "moſt celebrated, quitting their native ſoil, account "themſelves happy, under your protection, as ſervants "of the wiſe Solomon." And, in another place, he tells us, "That Charles drew Greeks and Iriſh, with "flocks of philoſophers, for the inſtruction of his "people." A. C.

Ormulphus and Buo directed their courſe from Ireland to Iceland, to propagate Chriſtianity, with other monks in their retinue. They were of the order of St. Columba, and erected a monaſtery in the town of Eſinberg. They converted the natives, and are eſteemed the apoſtles of Iceland, as Angrim Jonas, in his hiſtory of that country, declares †. Buo is ſaid to have wrote Homil. ad Iſlandos, lib. i.

Early in this century, we read of numbers of public ſchools being eſtabliſhed in France; and the great advantages ariſing from them were ſo viſible, that, in the council of Langres, held A. C. 859, the princes and

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. liv. ſect. 8. † Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 256.

A. C. the bishops are exhorted to erect, in convenient places, schools, as well for improvement in the learned languages, as for the better understanding the Scriptures. When the reader recollects, that, from the first introduction of Christianity into Ireland, the missionaries opened schools to instruct in religion and letters, and that the number and fame of these schools encreased as their doctrine spread; when he also calls to mind the numbers of holy doctors, who afterwards quitted this country to reform the neighbouring states, and especially in the present century he will be apt to conclude that the French (as did before them the Britons and Saxons) not only adopted our mode of propagating Christianity, but employed also our doctors to establish it. Hence the crowds of our philosophers and doctors pouring into France, as noted by Eric, are accounted for. Indeed, the intercourse between both countries, from a remote date, seems to have been very considerable. When the abbey of Nivelle was founded in favour of St. Gertrude, daughter to the illustrious Pepin, maire of the palace to Dagobert and Sigebert the third, in the seventh century, her mother, whilst she sent to Rome for relics, and copies of the Lives of Saints, sent at the same time to Ireland, for lettered men to instruct her community, and for musicians and chanters to teach them psalm-singing. Amongst the first were St. Foillan, St. Ultan, &c. and she erected for them a monastery, or rather an house of hospitality, for the reception and entertainment of pious, and other Irish, travelling that way, at Fosse, near the abbey of Nivelle *. Many others were erected through France, by pious Irishmen, for the same purpose; and in the council of Meaux, held in 845, amongst other acts, they direct, "That complaint shall be made "to the king, of the ruin of hospitable houses, but par-

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 421.

"ticularly

" ticularly of thoſe of the Iriſh nation, *founded by chari-* A. C.
" *table natives of that country.* Not only," ſay they " have
" theſe intruders refuſed to receive or entertain ſuch as
" preſent themſelves for relief, but they have even ejected
" theſe religious, whoſe duty it was to relieve the ſick,
" the diſtreſſed, and the ſtranger *." The erection of thoſe houſes is ſurely an incontrovertible proof of the cloſe correſpondence between the nations, and of the numbers of Iriſh thereto reſorting from time to time.

* Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 384.

BOOK

A. C.

BOOK XI.

CHAP. I.

Of the monarch Niall, with a retroſpective view of Iriſh affairs—a freſh invaſion of the Danes—battle of Ceannfuad—a more fatal one near Dublin, in which the monarch fell—ſtorm of Ardmagh—Donachad elected monarch; engages and defeats the Danes—review of the affairs of Munſter—invaded from Conaught—Lorcan ſucceeds to the crown of Munſter—battle of Roſcrea, and defeat of the Danes.

NIALL IV. called Glun-Duibh, or of the Black Knee, ſon to the monarch Aodh, was ſucceſſor to Flan. The very bad policy purſued by his predeceſſor, who, during his long reign, inſtead of uniting all parts of the kingdom againſt the common enemy, ſtudied only how to
916 diſtreſs the other provinces, and particularly Leath-Mogha, gave the Danes full leiſure to eſtabliſh their power, which they promoted with leſs ſuſpicion, by engaging in the intereſts of the different competitors. Cormoc, king of Munſter, miſled by weak heads, contributed not a little to increaſe their influence in that province. Lorcan, of the Dalgais line, notwithſtanding Cormoc's declaration, was, we ſee, excluded the crown of Munſter, and, even after the death of Dubhlactna, Flabhertach, abbot of Inis Catha, was appointed to that honour, to his prejudice; ſo that theſe two great houſes

loſt

lost that mutual confidence, so necessary to make them respectable. Such was the situation of the kingdom at this time. Private animosities directed public counsels; the national chiefs were more jealous of each other, than of the common enemy; and the Danes availed themselves of these unhappy feuds. The times seemed favourable to reduce the kingdom once more to their obedience; and they waited only for reinforcements to throw off the mask entirely. A part of these arrived in Ulster, committing every where their usual depredations. The monarch, at the head of a considerable army, soon came up with them. Both parties prepared for battle; but the fortune of the day at length declared in favour of the Irish. The foreigners were defeated with great slaughter; but the victors purchased the day very dearly, most of their principal officers and best soldiers having fallen in the combat. The next year a fresh party of Danes entered the harbour of Dublin, and landing their troops, were joined by numbers of their countrymen, so as to form a very considerable body, with which they invaded the province of Leinster; leaving every where marks of their ferocity and cruelty. Lorcan, the son of Felan, king of that province, collected his troops from all quarters to oppose them. A bloody battle was fought on the plains of Ceannfuad, in which the Lagenians were defeated with great carnage; and amongst their slain were many princes and nobles of prime quality. Animated by this success, they send for fresh forces, to make a complete conquest of the kingdom. In 919, a considerable fleet appeared in the harbour of Dublin, commanded by Godfry, the son of Iomhair; to the superior capacity of this last general, were the Danes indebted for their late victory; and now both armies uniting, Dublin was attacked with incredible fury, and, after a gallant resistance, taken sword in hand, and the garrison put to the sword.

A. C. 918 917 918

All

A. C. 919 All Leth-Cuin became alarmed at these uncommon successes of an enemy, who they, before this, seldom engaged without a certainty of victory. The imperial standard was set up, and to it troops repaired from all quarters. A very considerable army was soon formed; and it was judged proper to attack the enemy, before they possessed themselves of other strong holds. The two armies met near Dublin, on the 16th of October, and the engagement soon commenced. Never was greater intrepidity displayed, than was by both armies. The fight continued for many hours; but the Irish at length gave way on every side. In vain were they called by their leaders to return to the charge: unable to resist the number and impetuosity of the enemy, they betook themselves to a shameful flight, instead of a regular retreat. The monarch determined not to survive the disgrace; and, with a chosen band, consisting of the prime knights and nobility of the kingdom, rushed into the thickest part of the Danish battle, where he and his whole party were cut off; *but by no inglorious wounds.* With Niall fell that day Aodh, king of Ulster, Conner, son of Flan, and prince of Tara, the princes of Orgial, Breagh, with many other princes and nobles; and from this we may judge how great the loss in general must be. This battle though fought so late in the season, did not prevent the enterprising Jomhair from improving his advantages; whilst, he laid the adjacent country in ruin and ashes, he detached his son Godfrey, with a considerable body of forces, to make an irruption into Ulster, in revenge for the defeat he received there in the year 917; and in the middle of November, he took Armagh sword in hand, putting the garrison to the sword; "*but "sparing the churches, the clergy, and the infirm,*" say the Annals of the Four Masters.

Donachad II. son of the monarch Flan, was elected monarch, and began his reign with some eclat. He collected

lected the shattered forces of Leth-Cuin, which he consi- A. C.
derably reinforced by fresh troops, and led them forth, 920
without loss of time, against the Danes. These last, ac-
customed of late to victory, did not decline the combat;
they even marched into Meath, to meet the enemy.
The engagement was desperate and bloody; but, not-
withstanding the great abilities of Jonmair as a general,
seconded by the valour and discipline of his troops, they
were at length obliged to give way on every side; and
the slaughter in the field and in the pursuit, was incredi-
bly great. Our annalists note, that their loss in this
battle amply compensated for that of the Irish, the pre-
ceding year. Donachad detached flying parties to cut off
the enemies retreat, and destroyed all their garrisons and
strong holds; so that nothing remained to them in Lein-
ster and Meath, but the city of Dublin, which was too
well fortified, and had too formidable a garrison for
Donachad to sit down before it.

Munster was still divided about the succession to that
crown. The posterity of Cormac-Cas had been long
deprived of their right of alternate succession; and en-
gaged in protecting their frontiers from the Connacian
invaders, they wanted that power, so necessary to sup-
port right amongst princes. The great abilities of Lor-
can, as a general and a statesman, and the length of his
reign, gave new force and vigour to the territory of
North Munster. The king of Connaught prepared again
to invade that province, both by land and sea. A party of 934
his men landed near Loch-Derg, and surprised the fort,
which defended the palace of Lorcan, put the garrison
to the sword, and plundered and set fire to the palace;
but were disappointed of their principal object, which
was, the capture of the prince himself, who happily at
that time was engaged elsewhere. They now formally
demand of Lorcan hostages, as vassal to the king of Co-
naught, or to surrender to them that part of North
Munster

A. C. Munſter included in the preſent county of Clare. To ſo inſolent a meſſage he returned a proper anſwer, and ordered the beacons to be lighted up, which was notice to the whole province, immediately to repair to him, with horſe and arms. It is curious, even at this day, to obſerve the judgment with which theſe beacons were placed. I have examined ſeveral of theſe eminences, and am therefore a judge of the matter. Not only through the whole county of Clare were forts ſo diſpoſed, that in two hours the entire county could receive the alarm, whether the attemps were made by ſea or land, or both; but in Lower Ormond, ſtations were ſo judicially placed, that the leaſt attempts or preparations towards the Shannon ſide were quickly made known. By theſe means Lorcan ſoon collected a conſiderable force—for the whole province took fire at the attempt on his perſon—not ſatisfied with repelling the invaders, and defeating them both by land and ſea, he, in his turn, entered Conaught, carrying fire and ſword through a great part of the province, returning home loaded with ſpoils and glory.

Flahhertach, the abbot of Inis-Catha, who from a penitentiary, was called to ſucceed Dubhlachtna in the throne of Muníter, dying after a reign of twenty-ſix years, Lorcan, though greatly advanced in years, inſiſted on the right of ſucceſſion in his houſe, and marched
941 towards Caſhell with a conſiderable army, (where the eſtates were aſſembling to chooſe a ſucceſſor), the better to ſupport his claim. This *ultima ratio* gave uncommon weight to his negotiations, and he was proclaimed king of Leath-Mogha, an honour which his anceſtors had been long deprived of. The Rev. Mr. O'Conry †, poſſeſſed with the modern ſpirit of ſcepticiſm, will not

* Leabhar Mujmhean.

† The Law of Tanifiry illuſtrated, p. 471.

allow

allow to the Eugenian line the number of kings which antiquity has attributed to them. To prove this in part, he affirms, that from the death of Cormac, the ſon of Cuilleman, to that of Ceallachan, who in truth ſucceeded Lorcan, but one Eugenian ruled Munſter, namely, Flabhertach, and him he places after Lorcan. The fact however is, that, Dubhlachtna and Flabhertach, both Eugenians, preceded Lorcan; and that the reign of this laſt, as king of Munſter, was but eighteen months. However, even in this ſhort time, an event happened, which added greatly to his former laurels. A. C.

A great annual fair was held at Roſcrea, on the feſtival of St. Peter and Paul, but which continued for fourteen days. As this was nearly in the centre of the kingdom, merchants reſorted to it, not only from different parts of Ireland, but from foreign countries, to diſpoſe of their wares; for the country was, even then by the mercantile world, called, "Inſula dives opum, gemmarum, veſtis, et auri!" The Danes of Limeric and Conaught had formed a bold ſcheme, to ſurprize the merchants at this fair, where they expected immenſe treaſures. Olfinn, chief of the Conacian Danes, conducted this enterprize, and marched his men in detached parties to the borders of the Shannon, where they were to meet at an appointed day, the forces from and about Limeric. As they took different routes, and no very conſiderable bodies appeared together, their intentions were more ſecret, and leſs alarming. But no ſooner did they appear on the ſide of the Shannon, but notice was given by lighting fires at the different ſtations in Lower Ormond, by which the country became alarmed. They plunged into their barks as ſoon as poſſible; and of this, and of their landing in Ormond, which was effected in little more than two hours, notice was alſo given. From the place of their landing, the object of their deſtination became ſuſpected, and ſoon known. 942

As

A. C. As every thing depended upon expedition, they formed and marched off, as fast as they landed. The soldiers, who guarded the approaches to the fair, assembled, and were joined by the merchants, their clerks and numbers of gentlemen and others assembled from all quarters on such occasions. On consultation, it was resolved, not to remove the shops, the stages, the warehouses, or merchandizes, but let them remain where erected; by which means these people more immediately interested, would acquit themselves the better. It was also agreed on, to march out and meet the enemy, not wait to be attacked by them. These resolves inspired the people with confidence; for troops advancing to the charge, must collect more resolution (if they acquit themselves well), than those who wait to be attacked. As soon as the Danes appeared, they gave them no time to form, but assailed them on every side, with such firmness and resolution, (neither of which was expected), that they were very soon broke; and in this battle, and in the pursuit that followed, above 4000 Danes were slain, with most of their principal officers, amongst whom was Olfinn himself.

About this time Donochad invaded the province of Conaught; a battle was fought near Athluan, or Athlone, in which the imperialists were defeated, and obliged to retire. As this was the time in which the celebrated Ceallachan flourished, we shall bestow a particular chapter on it.

CHAP.

A.C.

CHAP. II.

Conteſt between Cineidi and Ceallachan for the crown of Munſter—Cineidi relinquiſhes his claim to Ceallachan—manner of proclaiming him—a confederacy formed againſt Cineidi—he unites with Ceallachan againſt the common enemy—battle and defeat of the Danes near Limeric—again at Cork, with the taking of Caſhell and Waterford—bad policy of the Iriſh, with regard to theſe foreigners—deliberations of the parliament of Munſter, at Caſhell.

ON the deceaſe of Lorcan, many candidates appeared for the crown of Munſter; but they were ſoon reduced to two: Cineidi, ſon to the intrepid Lorcan, and Ceallachan, the ſon of Buadhchain. Cineidi marched into the county of Cork, to ſolicit the ſuffrages of different princes. Ceallachan was proceeding on the ſame buſineſs. Both parties met, an engagement enſued, in which Ceallachan's party were defeated, and 300 of his *own followers*, beſides many others, were left dead. This Cineidi, as the Book of Munſter obſerves, was a prince of great intrepidity, and every way worthy the royal ſtock from whence he ſprang. By this little eſſay, the Eoganachts were not ſo forward in their ſupport of Ceallachan; and it was imagined the majority of voices would be againſt him, on the day of election, notwithſtanding that the Eoganachts reckoned ſeventeen counties, whilſt in North Munſter were only twelve. The mother of this prince being a lady of great ſpirit, and apprehenſive that her ſon would be excluded the throne, waited upon Cineidi in perſon, to remonſtrate on the violence

942

A. C. violence and injuſtice of his proceedings. "She re-
"minded him of the will of their great anceſtor Olioll-
"Ollum: that by it, the crown was to go alternately,
"between the poſterity of Fiacha-Muilleathan, and Cor-
"moc-Cas; and that as his father was the laſt king of
"Munſter, it was unjuſt in him to attempt to ſucceed
"to that crown." In vain he urged, "that his anceſ-
"tors for ſome generations, were deprived of that right,
"by the deſcendants of Fiacha; and that this was a ſuf-
"ficient juſtification of his proceedings." She did not pretend to ſupport the uſurpations of her houſe, but dwelt much on the preſent act of injuſtice; employed the rhetoric of tears, and concluded her ſpeech thus: "Cuimhnigh a Cineidi-Cas: dail Fiacha is Cormoc-
"Cais; gur ſhagſad in Muimhin da roin; go ceart idir
"agcomhchloin." i. e. "Remember gallant Cineidi,
"the agreement between Fiacha and Cormoc; they di-
"vided Munſter in two partitions, and decreed it ſhould
"be governed alternately, by the iſſue of each houſe." So bold and animating a ſpeech; the majeſty and dignity with which it was delivered; a fine woman pleading the cauſe of juſtice; and a tender and afflicted mother, the defence of a ſon, unmanned the whole aſſembly! The gallant Cineidi, was the firſt to acknowledge the power of female eloquence; and what the forces of half Ireland united with difficulty would effect, the tears of a woman performed! Cineidi gave up his claim to the ſovereignty of Munſter, and his competitor was unanimouſly appointed to that high ſtation.

In the hiſtory of the renowned hero Ceallachan, now before me *, is related, the manner of his inauguration, which, as it is curious, I ſhall literally tranſlate. "The
"princes and nobles of Munſter, (ſays my author),
"waited on Ceallachan at Caſhell. Each put his hands

* Tomgeap Ceallacan Caiſil.

"between

" between thoſe of the prince; the royal diadem was A.C.
" placed on his head; it was then announced to the
" people, that Ceallachan, the ſon of Buadhchain, the
" ſon of Lachtna, the ſon of Airtgboile, the ſon of
" Sneadhaſa, the ſon of Donghoile, the ſon of Daol-
" guſa, the ſon of Nadfraoich, the ſon of Colgan, the
" ſon of Failbhe-Flan, the ſon of Aodha-Dubh, the
" ſon of Crionnhthan, the ſon of Feidhlim, the ſon of
" Aongus, the ſon of Core, the ſon of Laigheach, the
" ſon of Olioll-Flan-Beg, the ſon of Fiacha-Muil-
" leathan, the ſon of Eogan-More, the ſon of Oliol-
" Ollum (and ſo on to Phœnius) was ſovereign prince
" and ruler of Leath-Mogha; and the royal ſhout de-
" clared the public approbation."

Soon after this, the Book of Munſter tells, that a moſt formidable confederacy was formed againſt the generous Cineidi, the ſon of Lorcan king of North Munſter. It reckons the confederates in the following manner: Corcam-Ruadh, Dealbhna, Meath, the Muſcrys, Eile, the Eoganachs, with Ceallachan, at their head, and Connaught! ſuch formidable enemies, and ſurrounding his dominions on every ſide, ſeemed formed with intent to annihilate the power of North Munſter; and there is reaſon to think, that Ceallachan, and the Eoganachts, were the very ſoul of this great confederacy. The intrepid Cineidi, like the preſent king of Pruſſia, far from being intimidated, prepared valiantly to oppoſe his enemies on every ſide. He called together his brave Dalgais; theſe were his hereditary troops, the moſt warlike and beſt diſciplined in Ireland. In all attacks they were the van, and formed the rere on a retreat. Their banner was the bloody hand, and the motto, " the firſt " in the attack, and the laſt in the retreat." He cauſed the beacons to be lighted up, and every man fit to bear arms, prepared to attend his ſtandard. The particulars of this war, we are not told; but that it ſoon terminated

A. C. minated in an honourable peace; but one of the conditions of it (we muſt ſuppoſe) was, that Cineidi, delivered up his ſon Duineachan as an hoſtage to Ceallachan; becauſe we find this young prince conſtantly after in his court.

By this peace the two Munſters became united, and of courſe formidable to their enemies. Actuated by public principles, Ceallachan and Cineidi every where attacked the common enemy. In fourteen different battles, ſays the *Book of Munſter*, did Cineidi engage and defeat the Danes, ſo as to clear his dominions of them. But the "WARS OF CEALLACHAN CAISIL," are more
943 minute in the exploits of this laſt hero. He called his chiefs together, and exhorted them to arm every where againſt the Danes; and Limeric was pitched upon as their firſt attack. A thouſand Eoganachts, or hereditary troops of South Munſter (a moſt ſelect body) with many others of leſs note, headed by Ceallachan, under whom were the young Duineachan, O'Sullivan, O'Keefe, O'Rierdan, O'Leahan, Aodh Mac Cuillenan, and other great chiefs, marched to this aſſault. Heralds were ſent, requiring the Danes to ſurrender the city, and give up hoſtages for their future behaviour, or prepare to defend themſelves; but the Danes returned for anſwer, "That "far from waiting to be attacked, they would march "out of the city and give them battle." They marched out in four diviſions, four hundred ſelect men, moſtly armed with coats of mail, in each diviſion, beſides light armed troops; and at Sain-Aingil, called now Singleland, was the battle fought.

O'Sullivan, who acted as general under Ceallachan, addreſſed his men in a moſt animating ſpeech, which was anſwered by the ſhouts and claſhing of the ſwords and ſhields of the ſoldiery. The fight began, we are told, by the diſcharge of ſtones from the ſlings of the light-armed troops, by the diſcharge of arrows, by ſpears, and

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by lances. The heavy-armed troops now engage, breaſt to breaſt, and long and dreadful is the conflict. The Daniſh commanders leave nothing uneſſayed to give firmneſs to their troops; and the greateſt efforts of their antagoniſts make little impreſſion on them. Ceallachan, at length, ſingled out Amhlaobh, or Aulavus, the Daniſh commander, and, with one ſtroke of his ſword, ſplit his ſcull through his helmet, and he immediately fell dead at his feet. In like manner O'Sullivan engaged Moran, who is called "Son to the king of Denmark," and cut off his head, by a well pointed blow, between the helmet and breaſt-plate. O'Keefe run Magnus, who is called "The ſtandard bearer," through the body, and after a gallant defence, Lochluin, called Na-Ureach, or of the Spoils, received his death by the hands of O'Rierdan. The Danes now gave way on every ſide, and are ſo hotly purſued, that the Iriſh enter the city with the fugitives, putting to the ſword all the foreigners they meet, as well in the ſtreets as in the caſtles and lofty towers. But inſtead of keeping poſſeſſion of the town, we find Ceallachan content with exacting large contributions from the inhabitants, part of which was paid down in gold and merchandize, and hoſtages taken for the ſecurity of the remainder. A. C.

Next morning the army marched off for Cork, with the utmoſt ſecrecy and expedition; for, it ſeems, the Danes were ſo powerful there as to exact hoſtages from the Eoganachts, and, among theſe, was a natural ſon of Ceallachan's. Prudence, therefore, demanded this precaution, leſt the Danes might ſhip them off for the continent. They appeared before Cork in the afternoon of the next day, horſe and foot, and immediately ſummoned the town; but theſe ſlighting the ſummons, the ſignal for attack was directly given; the walls were ſcaled, the Danes defeated, and the priſoners reſtored to liberty. From thence they proceeded for Caſhell. On

A. C. their march an ambuſcade was laid for them, but three hundred Danes were cut to pieces in the attempt, as were five hundred more ſoon after. At Caſhell, Ceallachan preſented O'Keefe, with a hundred helmets, a hundred ſwords, a hundred ſhields, a hundred horſes, and a hundred ſlaves. From Caſhell the army marched to Waterford, the very day that Sitric, his wife, and family landed there, with ſeven ſhips. The citizens, hearing the rapid progreſs of the Iriſh, and the many defeats which their countrymen received, inſtead of marching out to attack the enemy, ſhut the gates and manned the walls. But their caution availed not; for whilſt on one ſide the gates were attempted to be broke open, others mounted the walls, which ſo diſmayed them, that they loſt all courage, and the town was ſpeedily taken with conſiderable ſlaughter. But Sitric, and many of their principal Danes, eſcaped to their ſhips, and ſailed for Dublin. After this, parties were ſent to puniſh different Iriſh chiefs who meanly ſupported theſe barbarians. Large ſums were extorted from them, and they were obliged to ſend hoſtages to Ceallachan for their future good behaviour.

Thus was all Munſter, in the ſpace of a few weeks, delivered from the tyranny of theſe wretches, by the vigour and intrepidity of Ceallachan and Cineidi; but there ſeems to have been a great defect in the policy of theſe princes; for, though it is evident, that far from meaning to exterminate theſe ſtrangers, the great object of Iriſh councils, from the firſt of theſe troubles, was to reduce them to obedience, and make them uſeful to the nation by arts and commerce, yet they always overlooked the true method of bringing them to this. They left them in poſſeſſion (or at leaſt the ruling part) of moſt of their ſea-ports, by which means, on future occaſions, they were enabled to create freſh troubles. Had they, indeed, ſuffered them to remain in their cities, for the

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ſole purpoſe of trade, and conferred the government of A. C
them on magiſtrates of their own appointment, all the calamities, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of what fell on the nation, might have been avoided. But this, we ſee, was not the caſe; and the only way to account for this great overſight is, to confeſs what was really the truth. The Iriſh, though they knew the value of trade, and highly encouraged and protected it, yet deemed it diſhonourable. Enthuſiaſtically fond of arms and of letters, they looked upon other avocations with contempt. Hence we have ſeen the amazing numbers of the firſt nobility who devoted themſelves to the church, and to different learned profeſſions, as law, phyſic, poetry, hiſtory, muſic, and genealogy: and theſe profeſſors even ranked before the military. Commerce and manufactures were moſtly carried on, before the arrival of the Danes, by the Belgæ and Damnonii. The trading cities were moſtly *Hanſe towns*; the monarch and provincial kings, were paid certain ſubſidies from them in money, wines, and merchandize, every firſt of May and November. They had a police of their own; and we may ſafely affirm, that the ancient citizens leagued with the new comers, whoſe chief power depended on their ſhips. Even at this day Ceanuighe, which is the Iriſh for a merchant, conveys with it a contemptible idea; and from the old law word Cain, tribute, is the word Ceanuighe derived.

Upon reſtoring peace and tranquillity to Munſter, a Feis, or parliament, was ſummoned by Ceallachan to meet at Caſhell, where were aſſembled the chiefs of the ſeventeen counties of South Munſter; and Cineidi, with the twelve princes of North Munſter, O'Felan, prince of the Deaſies, and others. At this convention Cineidi was declared Tanaiſte, or ſucceſſor to the crown of Munſter, and received the uſual preſents, and Tuaraſdal, or pay, annexed to that rank *. Reforms were made (but what,

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* This was ten gold cups, thirty gold hilted ſwords, thirty horſes, ten

A. C. we are not told) in the government of cities; and the caſe of the people of Oſſory came next under conſideration. It appeared from the regiſters that, for one hundred and forty-one years (ſays my copy) that is, from the firſt coming of the Danes, the Oſſorians had withheld their uſual tribute to the kings of Munſter *. Ambaſſadors were immediately ſent to make a formal demand of this tribute, and, in caſe of refuſal, to denounce war againſt them. But the prince of Oſſory, aided by the Lageniaus, refuſed to comply with this demand. His territories were ſoon invaded; and he was obliged to ſubmit, and to ſend his ſon as an hoſtage for his future good behaviour.

CHAP. III.

The Danes form a deep-laid conſpiracy, under the pretence of marriage, to get Ceallachan into their hands, and ſucceed—the terms on which they propoſe to releaſe him, and his own private inſtructions to his miniſters—the Mamonians raiſe a large army, and fit out a powerful navy to redeem Ceallachan—Ardmagh taken by aſſault—naval engagement off Dundalk, the prodigies of Valour performed by the Iriſh, and releaſe of Ceallachan—triumphant return to Munſter.

943 UPON the arrival of Sitric in Dublin, he called together an aſſembly of the principal Danes, in order to conſult upon the means of recovering their loſt power in Munſter, or, at leaſt, of preſerving what remained to them in the other provinces. His wife was an Iriſh

coats of mail, and two embroidered cloaks; and to be continued annually, until he ſucceeded to the crown of Munſter.

* This (ſays my author) was three hundred ſcarlet cloaks, five hundred horſes, and their contingent of troops when called on.

princeſs,

princeſs, ſo that he preſerved, by her family, ſome native weight in Leath-Cuin. Munſter, as has been often before noted, was, to all intents and purpoſes, totally independent of, and owed no obedience whatever to Leath-Cuin, or the monarchs of the Heremonian line. This it is proper to repeat, becauſe it has been affirmed that Ceallachan's refuſing to pay the uſual tribute to Donachad, was the reaſon that he countenanced Sitric in a conſpiracy againſt Munſter, the particulars of which we are now to relate. A. C.

The Danes had been too long in the kingdom not to be acquainted with the particular intereſts of its different chiefs. It was by entering into their views, that they gradually gained a new aſcendancy after their firſt expulſion by Malachie. This knowledge they now, with profound policy, availed themſelves of. They artfully repreſented to the monarch, that, by the late ſucceſs of Munſter, its princes acquired new power, and might, as they formerly did, diſpute the monarchy with the Heremonians, and ſo bring all Leath-Cuin under their ſubjection; that they themſelves had formed a ſcheme, by which that province would be ſoon reduced; that provided they had no interruption to their deſigns they would, in a ſhort time, have Ceallachan and Dunchnain at their mercy, and of courſe all Munſter in their power; and that whatever dominion they might acquire by this means, they would hold under Donachad and his poſterity only. By this artful repreſentation, and ſpeaking to the paſſions and the ſeeming intereſts of the Heremonians, they not only diſarmed their jealouſies of themſelves, but made them view the ſucceſſes of the Mamonians in a formidable light.

Secure of one party, they now proceeded in their attack upon Ceallachan. Ambaſſadors were ſent to Caſhell in the names of Sitric and his brothers, Tor and Magnus, and of the ſons of the king of Fuarlochlon (I think Norway) and Fionlochlon, or Denmark, and their adherents,

A. C. herents, requeſting a laſting peace and amity with Munſter; engaging for themſelves, and for their poſterity, to relinquiſh all claims or pretences whatever on any of the cities and ſea-ports of that province, and to pay themſelves the expences of the late war. They were then directed, if they found this propoſal favourably heard, to inſinuate the wiſhes of Sitric, to cement this friendſhip more cloſely, by marrying his ſiſter, the lovely and accompliſhed Beibhion, to Ceallachan. That by this union he could have nothing to fear from Leath-Cuin, as Sitric would always aſſiſt him with money, arms, and ſhipping; Ceallachan, at the ſame time, engaging to defend him againſt all attacks of the monarch; and thus their mutual power and independency would be ſupported. Never was negociation more plauſible, nor more artfully managed! Ceallachan aſſembled his council; the different propoſals were ſeparately examined, and they appeared ſo advantageous to both parties, that the leaſt doubt of their ſincerity could not be harboured. It was evident that Sitric and his party could not exiſt in Leath-Cuin without ſupport; and Ceallachan, dreading the union of that party againſt Munſter, was glad of ſo powerful an ally in their own dominions. Theſe agreements were formerly ratified on both parts, and Ceallachan prepared for Dublin, to meet his intended bride, with all the ſplendor and magnificence which the ancient Iriſh were ſo fond of. He propoſed to march his army to Kildare, there to wait his return, to attend his bride to Caſhell; but this was oppoſed by Cineidi, and by O'Keefe, his general, who ſaid they could by no means agree to leave the country defenceleſs; but by keeping the troops at Caſhell they would be ready to aſſiſt him in caſe of any unforeſeen accident.

944 At the head of the young princes and nobles of Munſter, namely, of Dunchuain the ſon of Cineidi, of Aodh the ſon of O'Felan, prince of the Deaſies, of Aongus,

Aongus, the young prince of Offory, with the ſons of O'Keefe, O'Sullivan, O'Connor-Kerry, O'Driſcol, O'Moriarty, O'Rierdan, and the other young chiefs of the twenty-nine counties of both Munſters, and his guard of Offorians, gallantly attired, did Ceallachan proceed on his way to Dublin, attended by the Daniſh ambaſſadors and their retinue. So unnatural and ſo unexpected an union aſtoniſhed the public; and nothing was ſpoke of, but the preparations and expences over all Munſter to receive their king and his queen with joy and ſplendor. The real intentions of Sitric, were ſo impenetrable—moſt probably he reſerved them to himſelf—that it was not until the morning of the arrival of Ceallachan in Dublin, that he announced his deſigns to his wife, who had often before expreſſed her aſtoniſhment at this ſudden union between her huſband and his mortal enemy. Sure of his prey, he now told her in confidence, that nothing was further from his mind, than the giving his ſiſter to the king of Munſter. That it was a train he had laid, to get him and Dunchnain into his hands, with all the young nobility of Munſter, whom he intended ſhipping off for Denmark, or otherwiſe deſtroying them, if the repoſſeſſion of all the ſtrong holds he had been deprived of, were not reſtored to him, with a proper Eric, or ranſom, for every Dane who fell in the late war. The blackneſs and prefidy of the act, and probably ſome affection for her native country, whoſe liberty ſhe ſaw would be endangered by it, determined her to convey immediately a private account to Ceallachan, of the intentions of her huſband. A. C.

This prince, who was preparing with great magnificence to enter the city of Dublin, received this notice at Cill-Mhoghnion, vulgarly called Killmainhim. He communicated its contents to his attendants, and aſked their opinions. They agreed to retire as faſt as poſſible; but Sitric was too profound a politician, to leave much to chance.

A. C. chance. He ordered, the night before, troops to file off ſilently, and line the hedges on both ſides the road, ſo as to prevent the poſſibility of an eſcape, in caſe Ceallachan ſhould penetrate his deſigns; and in the morning, by way of doing him greater honour, a body of horſe were to uſher him into town. The troops ſeeing Ceallachan and his party turning their backs on Dublin, quitted their receſſes, in order to oppoſe them; but ſeveral of them were cut to pieces, and they would have made good their retreat, but for the horſe, who being near at hand, and hearing the ſhouts, ſpurred on, and ſoon came up with this handful of heroes, contending with hundreds!

On ſight of the horſe, theſe young nobles formed a reſolution worthy of their birth and valor. They requeſted Ceallachan and Dunchuain, to retire as faſt as poſſible, whilſt they ſold their lives as dear as they could for their country's ſafety. But courage was vainly oppoſed to numbers; and though the enemy fell in heaps on every ſide, yet the ſtrength of theſe young combatants was ſoon exhauſted, and they themſelves received from others, that death which they had ſo liberally beſtowed. Ceallachan and Dunchuain, finding all hopes of liberty loſt, determined to ſell their lives dearly; but the Danes had it in charge to take them alive, which they at length effected. Sitric received them with all the cruelty of an inſulting tyrant, and had even the heads of their young nobility expoſed in their preſence; upbraiding them with all the Daniſh blood they had ſpilt, and vowing that they ſhould never return to Munſter, until all the cities were reſtored to him, and a proper Eric paid, for every Dane who fell ſince the taking of Limeric.

The news of the capture of the king of Munſter, and of the deſtruction of all the young nobility in his train, filled that whole people with horror and conſternation; ſince there was ſcarce a great houſe in the province,

vince, that had not loſt a ſon or a brother. With this melancholy account came the Daniſh propoſals, from which they would not recede; but Ceallachan ſent private inſtructions to Cineidi, by no means to hearken to them, but to arm all Munſter, and purſue the Danes to Ardmach, where they intended to remove him. At the ſame time he recommended to him, to collect all the naval power, to proceed to Dundalk, where the Daniſh fleet then lay, and which he apprehended was to carry him to Denmark. "Should theſe manœuvres (ſaid he), prove "unſucceſsful, have no further regard to our ſituations, "but purſue the barbarous Danes. Aſſume the crown "of Munſter, which your virtues ſo juſtly entitle you "to, and take ample revenge on the kings of Tara and "Leinſter for their baſe treachery." A. C.

On conſultation, it was agreed to purſue the advice of Ceallachan. Expreſſes were ſent to collect the troops, and for theſe chiefs whoſe duty it was to be always ready with their ſhips, to attend the calls of their country, to proceed to ſea by that day week for Dundalk; which day was alſo marked out for the march of the land forces. At the appointed day, appeared 2090 of the Dalgais, completely armed with helmets, coats of mail, broad ſwords, and ſhields, headed by Congalach, Coſgrach, and Longargan, the brothers of Cineidi. Three Thouſand Eugenians, armed in like manner, arranged themſelves under the ſtandard of O'Keefe, who was appointed commander in chief. Another body from Hi-Connuil, Hi-Carbre, Hi-Caille, and Hi-Liathan appeared. Theſe were joined by a large body of volunteers; ſo that the army conſiſted of four Catha, or 12,000 men, beſides archers, ſlingers, and other light-armed troops. On a review of the troops, Cineidi firſt addreſſed himſelf to his brothers and the brave Dalgais; reminded them of the exploits of their anceſtors, the cauſe in which they were embarked, and the perfidious enemy with which they were to engage; and charged them to return

A. C. turn with victory or die glorioufly. O'Keefe, and his intrepid Eugenians, he alfo harangued. It is all in verfe, animating, noble, and poetic! It may not be here amifs to inform the reader that the Iriſh princes and nobility were early inſtructed in hiſtory and poetry, as well as in feats of arms; and that a thorough knowledge of both, were abſolutely neceſſary in all public ſtations. Every man's rank was thus known, and the degree of attention neceſſary to be paid to him. Public diſcourſes of every kind were concluded, and often recapitulated, in verſe; and this will explain why all our MSS. contain proſe and verſe; and the meaning of the adage amongſt antiquarians—"*Laoi no litir coithighuas*—proſe or verſe proves"—that is, that the poetic part is as authentic as the mere literal.

The number of ſhips in this expedition are particularly ſpecified. O'Driſcol, O'Cobhtach, and O'Flan, armed and manned ten ſhips each; Corca-Duibhne, in the county of Kerry, the principality of O'Failbhe, or O'Falvy, who was hereditary admiral of South Munſter, equipped thirty ſhips; O'Connor-Kerry, twenty ſhips; from Corcomruadh and Burrin, in the county of Clare, twenty ſhips; and from Corca-Bhaiſcin, twenty ſhips: in all 120 ſail. For it is to be noticed, that there was at this time thirteen ſea ports in South, and but five in North Munſter. Theſe ſhips well manned and appointed, and commanded by their different chiefs, rendevouzed at Beal-Atha-Laighean, on the day appointed, and immediately proceeded to ſea.

In the march of the army, they were joined by 1000 Conacians, the poſterity of Teige, the ſon of Cian, the ſon of Oliol-Ollum, who got large eſtates in Leinſter and Conaught, in the third century. At the head of theſe were O'Hara, O'Gara, O'Connor, from this Cian, called Cianachta, &c. and ſoon after by 500 foot completely armed, from the Delvins, headed by O'Coghlin, O'Fennellan,

O'Fennellan, &c. being the poſterity of Luigh-Deal- A.C.
boaodh. Theſe chiefs informed O'Keefe, that as being themſelves of the line of Heber, they thought they were bound in honour to engage in this cauſe, and therefore voluntarily offered their ſervice, which he gladly accepted, applauding their generoſity and bravery, and that of their anceſtors, in an extempore poem. It is to be noticed, that 700 years had now elapſed, ſince the anceſtors of the Gaileangas, or firſt body of theſe auxiliaries, gained eſtates in Conaught and Leinſter; and above 500 ſince thoſe of the Delvins got acquiſitions in Leinſter and Meath; yet we ſee how well preſerved the memory of their anceſtry was, by all parties!

The army, in high ſpirits, ſoon reached Ardmach; but in their march through Tir Connell, ſome exceſſes were committed, which that prince complained of; but getting no redreſs, and unable to oppoſe force to force, through vexation he ſent a private expreſs to Sitric, at Ardmach, that the whole power of Munſter would be immediately on his back. On receipt of this intelligence, he quitted the town with his army and priſoners, to proceed for Dundalk, where his ſhips lay, leaving a ſtrong garriſon behind him, to delay as much as poſſible the Munſter troops. Immediately on their arrival, O'Keefe took a view of the city, and proceeded to form the attack. To the Dalgaſſians, and the troops from Delvin and Conaught, he aſſigned the weſtern ſide of Ardmach; to theſe of Hi-Connuil and Hi-Carbre, or of Upper Connellac and Kerry, in the county of Limeric, and of Hi-Liathan, or Barrymore, in the county of Cork, &c. the attack of the old town. The troops from the Deaſies, or county of Waterford, were to form the ſouthern attack; and the Eoganachts, with himſelf at their head, were to make their approaches at the eaſt ſide of the city. All theſe attacks were to commence at preciſely the ſame time. The troops took their diffetent

ſtations;

A. C. ſtations; the ſignal was given, and the projection of large ſtones from the machines, and arrows from the archers, were for a time ſo conſtant and thick, that the air was almoſt darkened. Scaling ladders were fixed againſt the walls; the ſoldiers aſcended them with loud ſhouts, and death ſtalked round on every ſide! Part of the troops gained the tops of the walls, and the firſt Iriſh ſtandard that was planted, was the Dalgaſſian. The Danes every where defended themſelves with uncommon bravery and deſperacy, as they had every thing to apprehend from the enraged aſſailants. At length they gave way, but not until late in the evening did the Iriſh get poſſeſſion of the town. But the general, apprehenſive that in the darkneſs of the night, ſhould the fight and purſuit continue longer, the troops advancing from different quarters, might through miſtake engage each other, gave orders, that none ſhould ſtir from their ſtations, but remain under arms all night, and to take care that none ſhould be ſuffered to quit the town.

In the morning early they heard with aſtoniſhment, that Sitric had been informed of their intentions, by the prince of Tir Connel, and had marched off for Dundalk, with his priſoners. After burying the dead, which it appears were very conſiderable (500 of the Eoganachts only being amongſt the ſlain), they proceeded for Dundalk, or Dundealgan, the ancient reſidence of the famous hero Cuculiin. Here they found that Sitric with all his forces had embarked, and the fleet lay in the bay ready for ſea. O'Keefe ſent off a flag of truce, to demand of Sitric the bodies of Ceallachan and Duhchuain, at the ſame time upbraiding him with his breach of public faith. But the Dane returned for anſwer, "that "the priſoners ſhould not be reſtored, until an Eric "was firſt paid for the Danes, who fell in fifteen diffe-"rent battles with Ceallachan and his forces;" and at the ſame time he ordered Ceallachan to be bound to the round-

round-top of his own ſhip, which was the largeſt in the fleet, and directed that Dunchuain, who was in that of the king of Norway, ſhould be ſerved in like manner, in view of the whole Munſter army. A. C.

But if the rage and grief of the Iriſh were extreme, at this inſult offered to their princes and to the nation, in their ſight, but out of their power to revenge; what muſt not have been their joy on view of the Munſter fleet, now in ſight, and with oars and ſails filling up the bay? When they beheld diſtinctly the admiral's flag, and to a certainty knew the different ſquadrons of which the fleet was compoſed, by their enſigns, they expreſſed their ſatisfaction by loud and repeated ſhouts, which were returned by the navy; and now both parties prepared for action. O'Failbhe drew up his ſhips in an extended line, but ſo as to leave room enough for the ſhips to work and fight, but not to let the Danes eſcape them. Both parties were reſolved on victory or death; and with cool determination approach each other. O'Driſcol, O'Cobhtach, and O'Flan, who led the van, began the attack on that of the enemy, by ſhowers of arrows, of ſtones darted from machines and ſlings, and of lances. But theſe miſſive weapons dealt death too ſlowly for the enraged Iriſh. The ſhips ſtill approached nearer, and they were directed to grapple the enemy, and board them. It appears that heavy-armed troops were diſperſed through both fleets, and theſe fought hand to hand, and breaſt to breaſt. The Iriſh admiral now approached the central diviſion under Sitric; whilſt the diſtant war was conducted as above. O'Failbhe grappled the Daniſh admiral, the reſt of his ſquadron did the like to others, and all leapt into the enemy's ſhips! The North Munſter diviſion attacked the Danes commanded by the princes of Norway and Denmark, and boarded them alſo. Never was greater intrepidity diſplayed than by both parties, on this dreadful

A. C. ful occaſion. The Daniſh fleet was much better manned than the Iriſh; and this ſuperiority made the conflict long doubtful. The Iriſh admiral advanced, at the head of a ſelect party, with a ſword in each hand, determined to reſtore Ceallachan to his liberty, or die in the attempt. Sitric and his bands reſolutely expect the attack. Courage, ſtrength, and experience were oppoſed to each other; but the Danes were at length beat from the main deck, and Ceallachan relieved. O'Failbhe gave him one of his ſwords, and deſired him to take poſſeſſion of his ſhip, and ſhew himſelf to the fleet, whilſt he returned to the charge. The liberty of their prince gave new ſpirits to the Iriſh, and they every where preſſed the enemy cloſer. The gallant O'Failbhe now renewed the fight with redoubled vigour; but Sitric, who knew how much depended on his own ſhip, gallantly oppoſed him, and he at length fell, pierced by a thouſand wounds! His head was immediately diſplayed on Sitric's maſt-head, and this ſight gave freſh courage to the Danes. But Fingal, ſecond in command, vowed ample revenge on Sitric. He reanimates his wounded and diſpirited aſſociates, and conjures them to make one generous attempt more, in the cauſe of their country. They catch the ſacred flame, and bravely ſecond their gallant commander. The fight was now more deſperate than ever, not only in this, but in every ſhip of the Danes; and we are particularly told, that the different combatants fought almoſt knee deep in blood. Fingal and Sitric at length cloſed! ſurrounded by crowds of Danes, Fingal ſaw his death certain, but determined to die glorioufly. By a ſudden effort, he graſped Sitric in his arms, and hurled his enemy with himſelf into the unfathomable deep! the like did Connal and Seagha, the anceſtors of O'Connor Corcumruadh, and O'Loghlin, who engaged with the ſhips commanded by Tor and Magnus, brothers to Sitric, and reduced to the ſame extremity

extremity with Fingal; like him, they graſped theſe different chiefs in their arms, and with them ruſhed into eternity! O'Connor-Kerry, and his diviſion met the ſame oppoſition; and he in particular, after much carnage, attacked hand to hand the Daniſh commander, whoſe head he cut off; and whilſt he was expoſing it to his men, he met the ſame fate from another Dane! A. C.

After performing every duty which could be expected from experienced commanders, and gallant ſoldiers and ſeamen, the aliens began at length to loſe their courage, at ſuch unexampled inſtances of heroiſm and perſeverance; whilſt their antagoniſts more eagerly ſought for death, provided they could drag ſome Daniſh antagoniſt to eternity with him! In a word, the Daniſh fleet were all taken or deſtroyed; and of that numerous hoſt, which in the morning exhibited ſo glorious a ſight, *not a ſingle man* remained alive at night! Hiſtory cannot produce another inſtance of ſo well-fought a battle, or ſo dreadful a carnage! Of all the Iriſh chiefs that engaged that day, not one eſcaped death; the like of all the captains, and very few of the ſoldiers or ſailors, who were not killed or wounded! The enemy's ſhips being every where taken or deſtroyed, Ceallachan and Dunchuain landed; and the fight of theſe princes, with the glory of the well-purchaſed day, ſoon made the army forget all the loſſes attending it. The bards, as uſual, congratulated them in adulatory odes; and the ſhouts of the ſoldiery proclaimed their joy and approbation!

Ceallachan gave orders to ſet fire to ſuch of the enemies ſhips as were totally diſabled; and after diſtributing their ſpoils amongſt the troops, he detached a conſiderable body of men to puniſh the prince of Tir Connell for his perfidy, with orders to join him in Meath. He at the ſame time ſent heralds to the monarch Donachad, upbraiding him with his baſeneſs, and informing him, that he would be ſoon at Tara, to lay waſte

A. C. waſte his country, if he was not able to fight him. The monarch declined the challenge, and Ceallachan raiſed heavy contributions on the country, with which and many hoſtages, he returned triumphant to Caſhell.

As the MS. which details the wars of this prince is more minute in relating the manner of engagements both by ſea and land, than any other I have met with, I have here given the ſubſtance of it entire. By it, it appears, that ſoldiers armed at all points, fought as well on ſhip-board as on ſhore: and that the diſtant war, in both inſtances, conſiſted in hurling of ſtones, and the diſcharge of arrows and lances. The projection of ſtones from ſlings, ſeems to have been the firſt miſſive weapon that was uſed; and Pliny attributes its invention to the Phœnicians. In the armies of Iſrael were ſlingers of ſtones; by this art David killed Goliah *; and amongſt thoſe who came to his aſſiſtance afterwards, were men, "*who could uſe both the right hand and the left in hurling "ſtones* †!" In the army of the children of Benjamin, were 700 choſen men, left-handed—"Every one could "ſling ſtones at an hair breath, and not miſs ‡." The Gauls ſucceſsfully uſed them in their wars with the Romans §; and theſe laſt afterwards enployed the Balearians, or inhabitants of Majorca and Minorca, in their armies for this purpoſe. In Ireland men were particularly trained to this exerciſe; and were ſo expert at it, as to be certain of hitting any object within its reach. By it Connor, king of Ulſter, near the birth of Chriſt, had his ſkull fractured; and ſome years after, the famous Meibh, queen of Conaught, received her death. Beſides ſtones, the Iriſh ſlingers uſed a compoſition of quick-lime, coarſe gravel, brick-duſt, and blood, which they worked into a maſs, and of this formed balls of different ſizes for their Cran-Tubals, or ſlings.

* 1 Samuel, chap. xvii. ver. 49. † 1 Chronicles, chap. xii. ver. 2.
‡ Judges, chap. xx. ver. 16. § Cæſar de Bello Gal. lib. ii. cap. 7.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. IV.

Death of the monarch Donochad, and election of Congalach—defeats the Danes in two pitched battles—ſtate of Munſter and death of Ceallachan—objections to his hiſtory anſwered—ſucceeded by Feargradh—hiſtory and exploits of Mahon, king of Thomond—ſucceeds to the crown of Munſter, and defeats the different leagues formed againſt him, but is at length treacherouſly ſlain.

THE ſpirit of Ceallachan and of Cineidi ſeems to have been caught by ſome northern princes; and Mac Neill fitted out a fleet on Loch-Neagh, with which he attacked and deſtroyed that of the Danes, and killed 1200 of their men. In like manner the Conacians encountered the Danes on Lough-Oirbhſion, who had long diſtreſſed the adjoining inhabitants; ſunk or burned all their veſſels, and put to the ſword every man of them. This year died ſuddenly Donochad the monarch, after a reign of twenty-five years; during which long period he diſplayed no great talents or patriotiſm. Had he, after the rapid ſucceſſes of Ceallachan, leagued with this prince, or even, as he did in Leath-Mogha, humbled their power in Leth-Cuin, in all appearance, the remains of theſe people, from inveterate enemies, might be converted to uſeful ſubjects. But he envied theſe exploits, which he ought to have imitated; and, like modern patriots, would rather ſee the nation totally deſtroyed, than reſcued from its dangers by any other hands but his own! 945

Congalach, the ſon of Maoilmhithe, ſixth in deſcent from Aodh-Slaine, of the Heremonian line, was proclaimed 945

A. C. writer. That princes at variance may be reconciled, and afterwards become warm friends, cannot be doubted; and though the authority from which I have faithfully extracted the exploits of Ceallachan, expreſsly ſays, that Sitric was the ſon of Turgeſius, yet it does not affirm, that this Turgeſius was the tyrant above alluded to. Turgeſius, like Sitric, Ivorus, Avlavus, &c. was a name peculiar to theſe foreigners. We read of many Sitricſes, Ivoruſes, &c. in our annals, and why not many Turgeſiuſes. Thus, though this Sitric is ſaid to be the ſon of Turgeſius, yet it is not a conſequence, that he muſt be ſon to that Turgeſius drowned in Loch-Ainin. Beſides, our hiſtory mentions him, with his chiefs and family, to have been then cut off; ſo that there could be no authority whatever, for even ſuppoſing it. Thus his proofs, when examined, appear, like moſt modern attacks upon ancient hiſtory, but merely *preſumptive*. But had this gentleman peruſed the work relative to this prince, he would be convinced, from its ſtyle and language, not only that it was *genuine*, but wrote immediately after the tranſactions therein recorded. From this hero Ceallachan, his poſterity aſſumed the name of O'Ceallachan, and preſerved a conſiderable part of their ancient property, even to the days of Cromwell. This tyrant obliged them, as he did many other great families, inſtead of their ample fortunes at home, to exchange them for ſmaller ones in other counties. It was a policy he adopted in too many inſtances, in order to weaken ancient family-intereſts, to tranſplant people from one county to another; and then it was, that the chief of this princely line was removed from the county of Cork into the county of Clare, where his poſterity have ſtill an ample property. The preſent O'Ceallaghan, a youth of great hopes, is now on his travels; and, from his conduct and prudence, his friends form great expectations.

On

On the death of Ceallachan, Feargradh, the ſon of Ailge- A. C.
nan, an Eugenian, was proclaimed king of Munſter, in pre- 952
ference to Lachtna, who ſhould certainly in juſtice have ſucceeded Ceallachan; but I ſuppoſe the incurſions of the Danes into his territories, (who now were poſſeſſed, not only of Limeric, but of all the iſlands in the Shannon to it), diſabled him from ſupporting his right by arms. Lachtna, however, had wars on his hands; and in the third year of his reign, the Book of Munſter tells us, he fell in battle by the hands of O'Flin and O'Cearny.

Mahon, brother to Lachtna, was his ſucceſſor in the 954
kingdom of North Munſter, a prince of uncommon bravery and conduct; and ſuch an one was highly neceſſary, as the Danes had already poſſeſſed moſt of the ſtrong holds in the province, from which they made ſudden and dreadful incurſions. Mahon, for a time aſſiſted by his brethren, particularly his brother Brien, unable to face them in the field, carried on a kind of partizan war againſt them, watching opportunities of ſurpriſing and cutting off their different ſcouting and detached parties, the ſucceſs of which gave new ſpirits to his people, ſo that in ſome time his forces became conſiderable and reſpectable.

The Lagenians, Danes, and Normans, of Ulſter and 956
Leinſter, entered into a confederacy againſt Congalach. He raiſed an army to oppoſe them; but fell in the action 957
that enſued near Ardmach, as the Annals of the Four Maſters note.

His ſucceſſor was Domhnal O'Neil, the ſon of Murtough, the ſon of the monarch Neill-Glundubh. Soon after his inauguration, Daniel, ſon to the deceaſed monarch Congalach, leagued with the Danes and Lagenians, and, at the head of a potent army, avowed his pretenſions to the throne of Tara. The monarch prepared to meet him; and at Cill-Mona a moſt bloody battle

A. C. battle was fought, in which Argal, ſon to the king of Ulſter, the young prince of Oirgial, and other perſons of prime quality fell, and with them the hopes of the ſon of Congalach. The Conacians had not ſent hoſtages to the monarch, nor yet recognized his title. To puniſh them for this neglect and diſreſpect, he invaded that province, raiſed contributions on the country, and brought hoſtages to Tara, from the different free ſtates.

The active and enterpriſing king of North Munſter, with his brother Brien, were perpetually in arms againſt the Danes, conſtantly haraſſing them; but at the ſame time, never attacking them but where they had the advantage of ſituation; ſo that far from repeating their depredations on the public, they durſt not now venture from their ſtrong holds, but in large bodies. Alarmed at the ſucceſs of Mahon in this kind of partizan-war, the Danes of Cork, Waterford, and Limeric, agreed to raiſe a body of men to cruſh for ever this riſing ſpirit. Three thouſand picked men were raiſed for this purpoſe, commanded by Muiris, chief of the Danes of Limeric,
959 under whom were four colonels of great military experience, and other officers of approved valour. Mahon's troops, in flying parties, conſtantly hovered round them in their march from Caſhell to Limeric, ſometimes ſkirmiſhing in front, ſometimes in the rere, or wherever they found the leaſt advantage. At length at Sulchoid, a noted paſs, they attacked them with ſuch ſpirit and impetuoſity, and with ſuch viſible advantage, that the front ranks fell in upon the centre, and all was ſoon in confuſion. In vain did their chiefs exert all their courage and ſkill, and oppoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers to reanimate the troops. Two thouſand of them were cut to pieces on the ſpot, with their general and principal officers, and the remainder fled towards Limeric, whither they were ſo cloſely and eagerly purſued, that the victors entered the town with them, putting to the

the ſword all opponents, breaking down the walls in ſe- A. C.
veral places, and ſetting fire to all the gates of the city.

This victory having ſecured and enlarged the boundaries of Mahon's territories, he thought the opportunity favourable to be avenged on the Conacians. Theſe laſt always deemed the preſent county of Clare as part of their dominions, (though in the original partition of Ireland, between Heber and Heremon, as well as in the ſubſequent one, between Eoghain-More, and the monarch Con, it was determined, that it belonged to Leath-Mogha, or ſouthern Ireland), and made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to recover it, during the late ſcenes of diſtreſs of that people. Mahon having made a truce 960
with the Danes, collected at Cin-Currtha, and the places adjacent to Killaloe, a large number of ſloops and flat-bottomed boats, in which he embarked with a ſelect number of his brave Dalgais, on the Shannon, making deſcents on different places on the Connaught Coaſts, and raiſing contributions every where, until he went beyond Lough-Righ. Here he landed his whole force, and marched far into the country. Feargal, the ſon of Ruare, narrowly watched his motions, and near the banks of a river which runs into that lake, Feargal with his whole force attacked Mahon; but the Dalgais (Cæſar like), unacquainted with fear, received them with their wonted firmneſs and intrepidity, and, after a very bloody conteſt, put them to a ſhameful flight. This was ſo precipitate, that Feargal himſelf plunged into the river, and in his hurry and confuſion threw away the ſhield, which Mahon got, and was ever after carefully preſerved by the poſterity of this prince, and uſed in all ſucceeding wars with the Conacians. To loſe one's ſhield or arms in battle, much leſs to throw them away, was deemed, not only in Ireland, but amongſt the ancient Celtæ, the greateſt reproach, as Tacitus obſerves; and Horace himſelf acknowledges by his "relictâ non bene parmulâ,"

how

A. C. how diſhonourable it was even in ancient Rome. This tranſaction, and the loſs of Fergal's ſhield, are preſerved in a well-pointed poem in the Book of Munſter. The late tranſlator of this work ſays, that the invaſion of Connaught was by land; but not to advert to the improbability of Mahon's being able, at this time, to raiſe forces enough for ſo great an undertaking, the Book of Munſter aſſures us that it was an aquatic expedition.

960 Feargradh, king of Munſter, being cut off, Mahon claimed the crown as his right, according to the law of alternate ſucceſſion; and the better to ſupport his claim, marched a reſpectable army to Caſhell. This gave ſuch weight to his ſolicitations, that he was elected king by a conſiderable majority, and was conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Caſhell or Munſter. But nothing could be more diſagreeable to the foreigners than this dignity conferred on their mortal enemy. The Danes of Cork, Waterford, Limeric, and Dublin, formed an alliance for their mutual defence; and moſt likely were privately encouraged, if not ſupported, by ſome of the Eugenians.

962 This they kept ſecret until ſufficient proviſion was made for carrying on the war; this being effected, the troops from the different quarters rendezvouſed at nearly a central place—I ſuppoſe about Thurles, ſince the march of the confederates combined was towards Limeric, by the way of Caſhell.—Their leaders, ſays the Book of Munſter, were Corran, chief of the Danes of Leinſter, Magnus of Limeric, Toralp, and Sithmoll. Mahon waited for them at the paſs of Sulchoid. The Daniſh horſe, who came to reconnoitre his ſituation, were briſkly attacked by the Iriſh cavalry, commanded by his brother Brien, and very roughly handled. This brought on a general engagement, in which the Danes were defeated with very great ſlaughter. This battle is ſaid, in the Chronicon Scotorum, to have been fought, anno 968; after

after this, it is ſaid, that he defeated the Martini of Munſter in a general engagement. A. C.

This ſame year Murrough, king of Leinſter, leagued with the Danes, and committed great depredations in Meath; but the monarch attacked them with ſuch vigour and ſpirit, that their army was cut to pieces, or diſperſed.

The Eugenians, who had ſo long governed Munſter, but particularly Maolmuadh, the ſon of Brain, could not bear to ſee Mahon ſo ſtrongly rivetted in the throne of that province. He leagued with the common enemy, but Mahon defeated their whole combined forces in two 964
different battles. Maolmuadh, deſpairing to ſucceed by open force, had recourſe to treachery. The biſhop of Cork, and other clergy of Munſter, interpoſing their good offices, it was agreed that both princes ſhould meet, with a few friends on each ſide, in order to ſettle their differences amicably. The houſe of O'Donovan, chief of Carbre-Aobhdhda, or Kenry, in the county of Limeric, was the appointed place of meeting; and thither Mahon 965
repaired with only twelve noblemen and their ſuit in his train. In the interim Maolmuadh tampered with O'Donovan, and he was baſe enough to promiſe to ſecure the body of his prince. The ſon of Brain, attended with a ſtrong party of horſe, at ſome diſtance, and the gallant Mahon was carried off to the county of Cork, and baſely murdered at a place called Leacht-Mathuin, near Macroom, in that county *. *By this inſidious action Maolmuadh was proclaimed king of Munſter, in the year 965.*

* O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 232.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. V.

History and exploits of Brien, until crowned king of Munster—dispossesses the Danes of Inis-Catha and other islands of the Shannon, whose churches and monasteries he caused to be rebuilt and re-edified—other reforms of Brien—annual revenues of the Munster kings, and the stipends paid by them to their tributaries—review of the military power of Munster—state of Leinster and Ulster, and death of the monarch Domnald.

965 BRIEN Boru, the son of Cineidi, succeeded his brother in the crown of North Munster, in the year 965; and, after securing internal peace and good order, his next objects were to be revenged on the betrayer and the murderer of his brother. But though all our writers agree as to the great exploits of this immortal prince, yet they are by no means in *unison* as to the length of his reign. Keating, M'Curtin, and others, reckon fifty-six years from his being called to the crown of North Munster, to his death; and Bruodinus makes it still more. The Chronicon Scotorum reduces it to thirty-eight years, in which opinion is the translator of the Book of Munster. The first writers confound these actions which he performed under his brother, with his own exploits when king of Thomond, and so extend his reign as much beyond the true time as others unreasonably contract it. The *Leabhar Oiris*, or *Chronicle of the O'Maolconneries*, which is an express relation of the wars of this prince from his first enthronement to his death, clearly affirms that the whole of his reign was forty-nine years; the first thirty-seven of which he was king of Munster, and from that time, to his death, was monarch of

of Ireland. He was born in the year 926, and fell in A.C.
the battle of Cluan-Tarbh, A. C. 1014; from which it
muſt follow, that he commenced his reign, A. C. 965,
in the thirty-ninth year of his age. But as I would wiſh
to bring the exploits of this great hero into as clear and
comprehenſive a light as I could, in hopes ſome future
biographer may eternize his own name in tranſmitting
to poſterity his great exploits, I ſhall obſerve, for more
accuracy, that of this forty-nine years he was, for the
two firſt, but king of Thomond. Maolmuadh being then
king of Munſter; that the ten ſucceeding ones he was
king of Munſter; was twenty-five years following king
of Leath-Mogha; and the remaining twelve, monarch
of Ireland. O'Donovan was too well acquainted with
the ſpirit and reſolution of Brien, not to apprehend every
thing from him, and therefore took into his pay, beſides
his own troops, fifteen hundred heavy-armed Danes,
commanded by Avlavus, a ſoldier of great experience.
Brien, as was expected, in the ſpring of the year 966,
entered his territories in Kenry, and was oppoſed by the
combined forces. A battle was fought with ſuch fury
and obſtinacy, that not only O'Donovan and Avlavus,
but their entire party fell by the ſword! Brien then ſent
an herald to Maolmuadh, denouncing war againſt him,
and acquainting him that he would invade his territories
early the next year. Such was the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of
thoſe days.

At the head of an army, more reſpectable for cou- 967
rage and diſcipline than for numbers, Brien enters into
action. Maolmuadh, beſides his provincials, had col-
lected a large body of Danes, and by mutual conſent a
battle was fought at Beallach-Lachta, in which Brien
was again victorious. In this bloody engagement which
happened in the year 967, Morrough, eldeſt ſon of
Brien, by Morc, daughter to O'Hine, prince of Jobh-
Fiacre-Aidhne, in Conaught, made his firſt campaign,
and though but thirteen years old engaged hand to hand
with

A. C. with Maolmuadh, and ſlew this murderer of his uncle! This victory was doubly glorious for Brien; he avenged by it the blood of his brother, and ſecured to himſelf the
968 crown of the two Munſters *. After his coronation at Caſhell, which was performed early next year, he returned to his palace at Cinn-Corradh; and now, having leiſure and time, he began to conſider the ſituation of his ſubjects nearer home.

The Danes ſtill poſſeſſed all the iſlands on the Shannon from Limeric to the ſea; and whilſt they monopolized all the trade of that city, the country, on both ſides, were grievouſly infeſted, by ſudden landings, from
969 thoſe iſlands. Brien prepared a large number of ſhips and flat-bottomed boats, and at the head of twelve hundred brave Dalgais he landed at Inis-Catha, or Scattery. In this iſland St. Senanus founded an epiſcopal ſee in the fifth century. In it were no leſs than eleven churches for the uſe of his monks, beſides a fine anchorite tower yet ſtanding. A ſuperb monument was erected to his memory, and was reſorted to by pious perſons from the moſt diſtant parts; but it is very remarkable, that no women were permitted to land on it from its firſt foundation to the coming of the Danes. This rich and lovely little iſland theſe barbarians had long poſſeſſed, and were determined to preſerve. The landing of Brien in his flat boats were ſupported by his ſhips, from which they diſcharged ſhowers of ſtones and arrows. The Danes, however, prepared to give them a warm reception, but were ſoon routed, with the loſs of eight hundred of their beſt men. After the re-conſecration of the churches, Brien returned ſolemn thanks to God, who had enabled him to reſtore them to his glory. From Scattery, Brien embarked troops who poſſeſſed themſelves of all the other iſlands. The churches and monaſteries were repaired,

* O'Halloran's Hiſt. of Ireland vol. ii. p. 236.

the

the clergy reſtored, and ſchools again opened for inſtruction in piety and letters. After this he laid ſiege to Limeric, and, on its ſurrender, he diſplaced the Daniſh magiſtrates, appointing others in their ſtead. A. C. 970

Having ſubdued the Danes, and reſtored peace to Munſter, his next care was to give vigour to the laws, and ſee juſtice and ſubordination again eſtabliſhed. The ruined churches and monaſteries were rebuilt or repaired, and the biſhops and clergy reſtored to their livings. At his own expence, he rebuilt the cathedral of Killaloe, the church and ſteeple of Tuaim-Grein, and the churches on Scattery, Inis-Cealtrach, and other iſlands on the Shannon. He repaired and re-edified all the palaces or royal houſes in Munſter, which were thirteen in number. But, leſt the reader might be ſurprized at this great number, I am to inform him, that, by the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, among other requiſites for royalty, as being of the blood royal, and of the equeſtrian order, the candidate muſt alſo be poſſeſſed of three royal houſes, the better to ſupport the regal ſtate. The public roads, in times of anarchy and confuſion, had been neglected and torn up, and bridges and cauſeways deſtroyed. All theſe he cauſed to be repaired, and the forts and ſtrong holds ſtrengthened by new works. He ſummoned a Feis or parliament at Caſhell, in which many new and uſeful ordinances paſſed. The lands which had been unlawfully uſurped by the Danes, were reſtored to the iſſue of the original proprietors, and for ſuch as clear titles could not be made out, they were ſold, and the money converted to the eſtabliſhment of univerſities and public hoſpitals. Such foreigners, as did not openly profeſs Chriſtianity, were allowed twelve months time to diſpoſe of their effects and quit the kingdom. The records of Munſter were carefully examined, and new copies diſtributed to the different ſenachies. Houſes of hoſpitality (of which no leſs a number than eighteen hundred

A. C. hundred belonged to the two Munſters) were rebuilt, and the lands originally appropriated to them reſtored. Brien himſelf, with a magnificence truly royal, lived in the palace of his anceſtors at Cean-Corradh. The reader will be enabled to form ſome idea of this from the annual revenues of the Munſter kings, which, according to the *Leabhar na Cleart*, or Book of Rights, agreed to by the ſtates of Ireland aſſembled at Tara, A. C. 450, in the preſence of St. Patrick, and drawn up by his diſciple St. Beanan, or Benignus, conſiſted in ſix thouſand two hundred and forty bullocks, ſix thouſand cows, four thouſand ſheep, five thouſand hogs, five thouſand common, one hundred green, and forty ſcarlet cloaks, four hundred and twenty tons of iron; and the annual revenues of the city of Limeric only were three hundred and ſixty-five tons of claret, beſides ſpices, cloths, and ſilks! This work, now before me, mentions the proportions which the different territories or counties of Munſter paid of this great revenue. Beſides this, each chief was to have a certain number of light or heavy-armed troops, ready to attend the prince's ſummons; and the maritime places a certain number of ſhips ready for ſea. The number of theſe laſt, in the reign of Ceallachan, we have ſeen, were a hundred and twenty ſhips, of which ſouth Munſter produced eighty. Had Cork, Kinſale, Waterford, Youghal, and Limeric, &c. been then poſſeſſed by this prince, as they were by his enemies, the reader may well ſuppoſe how much more numerous they muſt have been.

This work mentions, with great accuracy, the annual preſents made by the kings of Munſter to the different ſtates or territories, in return for the troops and ſhips they were to keep in readineſs when called for. They are very conſiderable both in gold, ſilver, horſes, and arms, and beſpeak the ſplendour and riches of the kingdom. The prince of Gabhran or Oſſory received annually

nually ten horſes, ten ſwords, ten ſhields, two ſuits of armour, and two cloaks with gold claſps and rich embroidery. When a Dal-Caſſian was elected king of Munſter, he preſented to the chief of the Eoganachts, ten men and ten women ſlaves, ten gold cups, and ten horſes with gold bits, and in full furniture. The prince of Ara (a diſtrict of the county of Tipperary, bordering on the Shannon, oppoſite Killaloe) received ſix gold-hilted ſwords, ſix ſhields of curious workmanſhip, and ſix ſcarlet cloaks. O'Fogerty, prince of Eile, in the ſaid county, was preſented with eight coats of mail, eight ſhields, eight ſwords, eight horſes, and eight cups. O'Ryan, chief of Unaithne, the country about Tulla in that county, received ſix ſhields, ſix ſwords richly mounted, and ſix horſes with gold bits and complete furniture. To O'Felan, chief of the Deaſes, in the county of Waterford, eight ſhips, eight men and eight women ſlaves, eight coats of mail, eight ſhields, eight ſwords, and eight horſes were given. The chief of Kerry had ſeven ſlaves, ſeven freemen, ſeven ſwords, and ſeven cups. Mac Ennery and O'Sheehan, chiefs of Conal Gabhra, or Upper Connello, received ten ſwords, ten ſhields, ten horſes, and ten cups, and the honour of ſitting at the king's table at Caſhell. O'Collins, and O'Kineale, chiefs of Lower Connello in the county of Limeric, received the like. The chief of Aine-Cliachall, in the ſaid county, or O'Ciarwic, eight ſwords, eight horſes, eight cups, two ſuits of armour, and two cloaks. O'Keefe and O'Dugan, chiefs of Gleanamhain and Fearmuighe, in the county of Cork, were each preſented with ſeven horſes, ſeven ſhields, and ſeven cups. The chief of Aobh-Liathan, or Barrymore, in the ſaid county, who was O'Lehane, was ſent a ſword and ſhield of the king's own wearing, an horſe in full furniture, and an embroidered cloak. To O'Flin, chief of Muſgry, one of the king's ſwords, one of his horſes in full furniture, A. C.

A. C. 'niture, and an hound. To O'Mahony-Fionn, chief of Rathlean, ten horſes, ten ſhields, ten ſcarlet cloaks, and ten coats of mail. To O'Driſcol, chief of Dairinne, or Carbery, ſeven ſhips, ſeven ſuits of armour, ſeven horſes, ſeven ſwords, and ſeven cups. To O'Driſcol-Oge, chief of Leim-Con, all in the ſaid county, the ſame. O'Donoghue, chief of Loch-Lein, or Killarney, in the county of Kerry, received the ſame *Tuarafdal*, or military ſtipend, with O'Driſcol. O'Shea, chief of Iveragh, O'Failbhe, lord of Corcaduibhne, O'Connell, O'Moriarty, and other great lords of that county, received ſimilar preſents.

The number of troops which each chief was obliged to ſupport, is not mentioned, ſo that the military ſtate of Munſter muſt only be gueſſed at. They held by different tenures. The above, and others in their line, were *allodial* proprietors. Each held an hereditary employ in the ſtate, and of courſe kept in pay a certain number of troops. Thoſe who were of the blood royal neither paid tribute or received ſubſidies, yet ſupported a ſtanding force; and thoſe who held by *Feuran-Cloidbeamh*, or ſword-land, as almoſt the entire county of Clare, Ormond, and the borders of the county of Limeric, &c. muſt neceſſarily keep up a more conſiderable force, being exempt from every other kind of tribute. Upon the whole, the following calculations may be ſafely admitted. The naval force of Munſter, when its chief cities were held in obedience, may be eſtimated at three hundred ſhips. This may be ſafely inferred, becauſe we have ſeen Ceallachan's fleet, when they were poſſeſſed by the enemy, conſiſted of a hundred and twenty ſail. We can by no means ſuppoſe them to be any thing equal to ſuch ſhips of war as we ſee now. Even thirty years ago, ſeventy gun ſhips were not much larger than fifty gun ſhips now.

The land forces of Munſter—by theſe I mean the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry ONLY, not the ſlingers and

and light-armed troops—it may be affirmed with confi- A. C.
dence, conſiſted of ten Catha, legions, or 30,000 men. Each legion had 500 horſe; ſo that the two Munſters, when united, could bring into the field, on a ſhort notice, a regular force of 25,000 foot, and 5000 horſe, well armed and well diſciplined, and with little or no expence to the ſtate. Thus the revenues of the crown were very great; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that in this eſtimate we have not noticed any duties paid by foreign ſhips, or the revenues ariſing from the many rich mines that were worked, or from the mines of amethyſts and topazes, for which the kingdom was then ſo noted as to be called, "*Inſula dives opum*, gemmarum, "veſtis, et auri!" From this ſlight ſketch, the reader may form an idea of the power and ſplendour of Brien. But this was not all: to avoid all occaſion of diſpute amongſt an haughty and warlike people, Brien revived the law called Illbreachta, by which people's rank were known by their dreſs; and the law which regarded rank and precedence was again put in force. So exact was his police, that it ſtands on record, that a beautiful virgin travelled from one extremity of the province to another, with a gold ring on the top of a white wand, without receiving the leaſt injury or moleſtation! probably Brien himſelf might have directed the experiment to be made.

Encouraged by the example of Brien, Donald, king of Ulſter, attacked and defeated the Danes in many battles; and, to be revenged on the Lagenians, who openly aſſiſted them, he marched his army into Leinſter, 973
committing great depredations on that people, and on their aſſociates. Soon after this, Keating tells us, that Cionnath O'Hartegan, primate of Ardmach, openly aſſiſted the Danes of Dublin, by which means Ugaire, prince of Leinſter, was taken priſoner. I have examined the catalogue of archbiſhops, not only of Ardmach, but

A. C. of Dublin, &c. and cannot find one prelate of, or like the name, in that century; ſo that he muſt be ſome clergyman of inferior degree, if we admit the fact. But, let him be taken how he may, it appears, that after his releaſe he raiſed a large body of troops, and engaged the Danes of Dublin, in which action his army was defeated, and he himſelf was in the number of the ſlain. The monarch, Domnald, tired of the pageantry of royalty, quitted the throne of Tara, and retired to Ardmach, where he died ſome time after, in great repute for piety and ſanctity.

CHAP. VI.

Malachie elected monarch, and triumphs over the Danes—a confederacy formed againſt the king of Munſter, which he diſperſes, and is ſaluted king of Leath-Mogha—the diſtinctions between a king of Thomond, a king of Munſter, and a ſovereign of Leath-Mogha—wars between Malachie and Brien—revenue paid by Leinſter to the king of Leath-Mogha—battle of Glean-Mamba—ſtates of Ireland propoſe to depoſe Malachie—he gets time to prepare for his defence—is diſappointed, and is granted further time—ſurrenders the diadem to Brien—preſents received on ſuch occaſions.

980 ON the abdication of Domnald, the eſtates of Leth-Cuin choſe for his ſucceſſor Malachie II. the ſon of Domnald, prince of Meath, the ſon of the monarch Donachad, ſon to Flan Sionna, &c. The Danes had about this time invaded Meath with a powerful army, exerciſing their wonted cruelties, but particularly plundering and ſetting fire to churches and monaſteries. Malachie collected the forces of Meath, and gave them battle. This is called the fight of Tara, and a moſt bloody one it was;

was; for in it fell 5000 Danes and their aſſociates, with Regnald, the ſon of Aomhlabh, their general, and moſt of their beſt officers. After this, he laid the diſtrict of Fingal, near Dublin, waſte; and, having thus cut off their ſupplies, he laid ſiege to Dublin itſelf, in conjunction with Donochad, prince of Ulſter. The third day a general aſſault was given; the gates were attacked, the walls ſcaled, and, after a bloody conteſt, the Daniſh enſigns were torn down, and Iriſh ones put in their places! Though taken by aſſault, yet Malachie acted with great caution: in it were many captives of prime quality; amongſt others, Domhnal, king of Leinſter, and O'Neil, prince of Tirone, &c. To have all theſe priſoners reſtored to their liberty, he ſaved the lives and effects of the citizens. A. C. 981

But though Malachie was triumphant over the Danes, yet he regarded with a jealous eye the great power of Brien. It was an hereditary quarrel; and his grandfather Donachad, as we have ſeen, encouraged the deſigns of Sitric againſt Munſter, ſeeming thereby better pleaſed to have that rich province poſſeſſed by the barbarians, than by the ancient proprietors. The knowledge of this, I ſuppoſe, determined O'Felan, prince of the Deaſies, to form a powerful confederacy againſt Brien. In it were joined the king of Leinſter, the prince of Oſſory, and the Danes of Cork, Waterford, and Leinſter. At the head of theſe allies O'Felan marched towards Cork, ſpoiling the country as he advanced; but on the approach of Brien, he retreated precipitately towards Waterford; thither Brien followed him by forced marches. Near that city the armies engaged; but after a galant reſiſtance, the confederates were broke, and fled with great precipitation. The troops of Brien entered Waterford with the fugitives, putting numbers to the ſword, and ſetting fire to the city. From Waterford, Brien marched to Oſſory, where

A. C. he received the ſubmiſſion of hoſtages from Fitzpatrick, chief of that territory. From thence he proceeded to Ferns, where the king of Leinſter paid him homage, as king of Leath-Mogha, and delivered hoſtages for his future good behaviour. Brien marched to Cork, whoſe citizens he chaſtiſed for their rebellion, altered its magiſtrates, raiſed heavy fines on the old ones, and carried away hoſtages for their future good behaviour.

As I have diſtinguiſhed Brien in his regal capacity as king of Thomond, king of Munſter, and king of Leath-Mogha, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that as king of Thomond, his power was confined to the preſent counties of Clare, Limeric, Tipperary, and a part of the preſent Leinſter; that as king of Munſter, he commanded the whole province; and as king of Leath-Mogha, or ſouthern Ireland, the king of Leinſter was his vaſſal.

982 Malachie, envious of the ſucceſs of Brien, invaded Munſter, and returned to Tara, loaded with ſpoils and captives. The next year he took into his pay, a body of Danes, and was joined by ſome Conacians. They laid waſte a good part of Leinſter and the Deaſies. Dom-

983 nald Cloan, king of Leinſter, engaged them in battle, but was defeated with great loſs. Enraged at theſe depredations, Brien made great preparations by land and water to invade Meath and Conaught. He drew together a very great number of ſhallops, and flat-bottomed boats, in which he embarked a ſelect body of troops on the Shannon, at Loch-Derg, who were to ſail up that river, as far as Loch-Righ, and lay the country on both ſides under contributions. At the ſame time he marched a powerful army into Meath. Malachie ſaw he had in Brien too powerful a prince, and too able a general to contend with; and therefore made with him a ſpeedy peace. By it, he was to make reſtitution for the outrages committed by the late invaſions of Munſter, and reſtore all the

the priſoners he had taken. Brien alſo returned ſuch as A. C.
fell into his hands; and they mutually agreed to ſupport each other; that is, that if any of the provinces of Leath-Cuin, refuſed paying their ſubſidies to the monarch, Brien was to aſſiſt him; and ſhould the provinces of Leath-Mogha in like manner become refractory, he was to receive ſimilar help from the monarch. The tranſlator of the Book of Munſter, mentions the preſent invaſion as intended againſt the Lagenians. I, however, adhere cloſely to the Leabhar-Oiris, which mentions its deſtination to be againſt Meath and Conaught; and adds, that in the incurſion of the Mamonians into Conaught from Athlone, they defeated the Conacians, commanded by Maurice O'Connor their king, who fell in this battle.

We have ſeen the revenues of Brien, as king of Munſter, to which we ſhall add, that as king of Leath-Mogha, they became more conſiderable; the Leinſter tribute, conſiſting of 300 gold handled ſwords, 300 cows with braſs yokes, 300 ſteeds, and 300 purple cloaks.

The Lagenians ill bore this galling tribute impoſed on them by Brien, and therefore confederated with the Danes of Dublin; invited into their ſervice many foreigners, and bid defiance to this prince. At the head 999
of a powerful army he invaded Leinſter. A bloody battle was fought at Glean-Madhma, in which Brien was, as uſual, victorious. He purſued the Danes to Dublin; and they ſaved the city by compoſition. How much we are not told; but that Brien received a great quantity of gold, ſilver, rich ſilks, and manufactures. Grat. Luc. p. 79. attributes this defeat to Malachie, the monarch; and the tranſlator of the Book of Munſter, to him and Brien united. The Leabhar-Oiris, declares it the act of the Mamonians only. The Danes waited a favourable opportunity to recover their diſtreſſed affairs;

and

A. C. and this offered ſoon after; for having received ſome conſiderable ſupplies from Normandy, from Britain, and Denmark, they again rebelled againſt Brien, and were again defeated by this victorious prince. Amongſt their ſlain were Harold, ſon of Amhlaobh, and Carolus, called Cloidheamh, or of the ſword, prince of Denmark.

Brien was for ever in arms againſt theſe foreigners; twenty-five pitched battles, ſays my author, did he engage them and their Iriſh aſſociates in, and victory ever attended his ſtandard. He not only reduced them from a ſtate of independency, to abſolute ſubjection in Leath-Mogha, but aſſiſted the Conacians againſt them, by whoſe means 4000 Danes fell in the battle of Succa. The great power, magnanimity, juſtice, and patriotiſm of this prince, contraſted with the paſſive temporiſing ſpirit of Malachie, who after the firſt five years of his reign, ſunk into indolence and apathy, made a ſtrong impreſſion on the chiefs of the kingdom. With ſuch a prince as Brien at the head of the nation, they hoped the whole people would feel theſe bleſſings of peace and ſubordination, which at preſent were confined to
1000 Leath-Mogha. In a convention of the different ſtates of Conaught and Munſter, it was agreed to requeſt Brien to aſſume the monarchy, and they engaged to ſupport him to the utmoſt. Deputies were then ſent from both ſtates to inform Malachie, that as he neither exerted himſelf like a prince in defence of his country, nor yet protected his ſubjects—the ends for which he was elected monarch—they judged him no longer worthy to fill the throne of Tara; and deſired he would relinquiſh the crown to one more worthy of it. This kind of language from the electors of Ireland, was not unuſual. In the reign of Con of the Hundred Battles, the ſtates convened at Tara, before the battle of Cnucha, addreſſed him thus—"Reſign, O king, the throne of Tara to

"ſome

" ſome prince more worthy, ſince you do not protect A. C.
" your ſubjects from the incurſions of Comhal, and the
" children of Cathoir-More *."

Malachie heard the propoſal with ſurpriſe and indignation, and declared, as he lived, he would die monarch of Ireland. But Brien, who we muſt ſuppoſe the very ſoul of the intended revolution, was too ſenſible a politician not to expect ſuch an anſwer, and to be prepared againſt it. At the head of an army of 20,000 veterans, beſides a good body of Daniſh cuiraſſiers (who from rebels he reduced to good ſubjects) Brien marched to Tara. Malachie was again required to reſign the throne; but his ambaſſadors repreſented to Brien, that their maſter would by no means conſent to the propoſal; that it is true he was at preſent deſtitute of troops, but if Brien would allow him a month to collect them, he would then give him battle, or if not in a condition to oppoſe him, he would ſurrender the regalia into his hands. At the ſame time he requeſted, that his army might not be ſuffered to commit any exceſs on the country. Theſe terms Brien agreed to. Malachie ſent expreſſes to all the princes of Leth-Cuin, requiring of them as their chief, and conjuring them as their friend, to repair to Tara with their forces, to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of Brien. He ſhewed them, that in manfully ſupporting him, they defended their own cauſe, and that of the entire line of Heremon, now ready to be cruſhed by the Heberians. But whether through want of opinion of his capacity, or reverence for glorious deeds performed by Brien, or a dread of his power, they all declined meddling in his affairs. He then ſummoned the Clan Colman (ſo called from Colman-More) or ſouthern Hi-Nialls; but they ſingly were unable to oppoſe the power of Munſter. Malachie, thus deſtitute of all ſupport, on the day appointed,

* Catha-Cnucha.

at

A. C. at the head of 1200 horſe, waited on Brien, at his camp near Tara, with the crown on his head, the ſceptre in his hand, and all the regalia. Being introduced to Brien, who was ſurrounded by a great aſſemblage of his princes and chief nobility, gallantly attired, he thus addreſſed, ſays the Bruodin Chronicle (the Bruodins were the hereditary hiſtorians of North Munſter) the king of Leath-Mogha: "Through the defection of my ſubjects, and "the inability of my friends, I find myſelf, great prince, "unable with arms to oppoſe your pretenſions to the "monarchy. I ſurrender to you this ſceptre (preſenting "it) and this crown (taking it off his head) which my "anceſtors of the royal line of Heremon for ſo many "generations bore, and which I have now for above "twenty years wore. They are the rewards of your "virtues, and I ſubmit." Here he ſtopt ſhort: the inward conflict was too viſible, not ſenſibly to affect the ſpectators; and Brien, with great humanity, approached the diſtreſſed prince, and embracing him, ſaid: "Since, "moſt ſerene monarch, you have not only offered the "crown, but ſurrendered yourſelf into our hands, without demanding hoſtages for your ſafe return, or "making any ſtipulations whatever, it would ill become us not to reward ſuch confidence with equal "generoſity. Take back theſe trappings of royalty, "I conſent that you ſhould retain the crown of Ireland in your hands, for twelve months more, from this "day. This will afford you opportunities of ſhewing "your virtues equal to ſo great a dignity, and of ſupporting your title by the ſword; but ſhould you in the "end, find yourſelf unable to oppoſe our pretenſions, I "ſhall then expect your peaceable ſurrender of the monarchy." So ſaying, the conference ended. Brien broke up his camp, diſmiſſed his auxiliaries, and returned to Cean-Corradh at the head of his intrepid Dalgais.

Malachie employed the time granted to him, in the beſt manner he could, to raiſe up a ſpirit againſt Brien. He

He ſent ambaſſadors to Conaught, to Ulſter, to Orgial, and to every territory within the diſtrict of Leth-Cuin. Hugh O'Neill, who was the moſt powerful chief in Ulſter, he employed all his rhetoric to engage in his intereſt! The abbot of Benchoir remonſtrated to him on behalf of the monarch, that if he did not powerfully exert himſelf on the preſent occaſion, he ſacrificed for ever the power of the Heremonians. That the monarchy had been for ſome centuries confined to their houſes, i. e. the northern and ſouthern Hi-Nialls, and that by preventing the preſent revolution, the crown might revert to him or to his poſterity. But O'Neill, for a general anſwer to all theſe ſolicitations, obſerved, "that when the crown "of Tara was poſſeſſed by his anceſtors of the houſe of "Tirone, they bravely defended it againſt all claimants; "that Brien was a prince, whoſe virtues, bravery, and "patriotiſm, merited the applauſe of all good men; and "that he could not think of unſheathing his ſword againſt "the gallant tribe of Dalgais, who he ſo highly eſteem-"ed." It was of the laſt conſequence to the monarch, to make O'Neill of his party; as his example would greatly influence the other princes of Leth-Cuin; and not willing to conſide the method he propoſed to gain him over, to any one, he in perſon viſited the king of Ulſter, in hopes his own preſence would have greater influence. Hugh ſeemed unmoved by all his ſolicitations. At length Malachie propoſed to him, a formal ſurrender of the throne of Tara, provided he united with him, to give battle to the troops of Munſter. On this, a provincial Feis, or parliament, was aſſembled to conſider of theſe propoſals; but after maturely weighing every thing for and againſt them, they were unanimouſly rejected, ſo formidable did the power of Brien appear to them. It was however propoſed to Malachie, that if he ſurrendered to them half the domain of Tara and of Meath, which they contended, by the will of their com-

A. C.

mon

A.C. mon anceſtor Neill theGrand, was their property, they would then unite heart and hand in his cauſe. Theſe terms ſeemed to Malachie ſo exorbitant, that he quitted the court of Ulſter, without coming to any reſolution. Much time had been ſpent in theſe different negotiations; and Malachie informed Brien exactly of his ſituation, and propoſed, that if he ceded to him the peaceable poſſeſſion of Tara and Meath, he would no further attempt to oppoſe him. To this Brien conſented, more from principles of generoſity and compaſſion, and to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, than through any doubt of his own power and influence.

1001 At the time appointed, Brien appeared on the plains of Tara, at the head of his invincible legions; and then and there, in the preſence of the princes and chiefs of the land, Malachie made a formal ſurrender of the crown and regalia of Ireland to him, at the ſame time paying him homage as his vaſſal. Brien then diſmiſſed him, with large preſents to him and to his retinue. The cuſtom of making preſents when different competitors appeared candidates for the monarchy, was always obſerved in Ireland. It was the mark of ſovereignty in the monarch, and of acquieſcence to his power in the others. It was a Tuaraſdal, or wages received, and an acknowledgment of ſuperior ſway. Core, king of Munſter, received preſents from his competitor Neill the Grand, in the fourth century, and thereby gave up his pretenſions to the monarchy. In the year 1260, tired with the cruelties and outrages committed by the foreigners, the chiefs of the Iriſh at length ſaw the neceſſity of forming a general confederacy, and reſtoring the conſtitution to its original ſtate, by electing among themſelves a monarch. A meeting was held at a place called Caoluiſge, on the borders of the river Erne, in Ulſter. The candidates were O'Brien, of Thomond, and O'Neill of Tirone. O'Brien, who was an excellent commander, and who ſome time before

before this, defeated the Engliſh and their Iriſh aſſociates, A. C.
in a general battle near Limeric, imagining that the majority of voices was in his favour, ſent to O'Neill 100 beautiful ſteeds, with gold bits, and in full furniture, by way of ſubſidy; but his competitor, perſuaded that he was elected, returned the preſent, and with them ſent 200 horſes to O'Brien, with rich gifts to his courtiers, none of which were received. By this means the aſſembly broke up, without forming any general reſolves; and thus were the public at large left expoſed to the outrages, and baſe machinations of theſe pretended reformers *, through the ambition of the two chiefs, neither of whom could be prevailed upon to acknowledge the ſuperiority of the other.

CHAP. VII.

The conduct of Brien and Malachie, in the preceding revolution, juſtified—Brien receives hoſtages from the different princes of Ireland, and is crowned at Tara—holds an aſſembly of the national eſtates—ſurnames eſtabliſhed, with obſervations on them—his attention to juſtice, and to the reſtoration of religion and letters—his exchequer revenues as monarch, and improvements at Cincoradh, with the etiquette of his court.

IN peruſing the above extraordinary revolution, it is neceſſary to guard the reader againſt miſconceptions. Though he will be apt to conſider Brien as an uſurper, yet will he deem his conduct in general, great and noble. Malachie may alſo be probably cenſured, for carrying his hatred to Brien ſo far, as even to offer a ſurrender of the crown to another prince, provided he could be diſap-

* Caithreim Thoirdhealbhaicc.

pointed,

A. C. pointed, and this, after granting him a farther time of twelve months to try to eſtabliſh his affairs! If we judge of the conduct of the Iriſh on this occaſion, by what is generally purſued in other nations, in ſimilar circumſtances, or by the general line of politics, we ſhall think Brien's behaviour, with his enemy in his power, to be rather romantic than prudent; but the Iriſh ſeemed of a different *caſt* from the neighbouring ſtates, and to view objects through mediums peculiar to themſelves; ſo true is that character of the nation, given many centuries earlier: *Inclyta gens "hominum, milite, pace, fide!"*

That Brien ſhould form the reſolution to dethrone Malachie, had nothing of novelty in it, too many ſimilar inſtances have occured in the courſe of this hiſtory; and, provided the claimant was of *the royal line of Mileſius, had received the order of chivalry*, and could *ſhew three royal feats in his family*, his ſucceſs was not deemed an uſurpation. In all our hiſtory a ſingle inſtance only occurs of uſurpation, and this marked down ſo, namely, that of Carbre, called Cin-Ceat in the firſt century, who got himſelf proclaimed monarch, though a Danaan! Certain it is, that the throne of Tara had been poſſeſſed by the Heremonian line for ſome centuries, in excluſion to the other royal houſes, particularly that of Heber, eldeſt ſon to Mileſius. But their antiquarians contended that, "*it was not ſeniority, but intrepidity, not a vain claim, but "the power of ſupporting it, that gave a ſolid title,*" according to a ſtanza of one of their moſt celebrated bards and advocates,

Sinſneaſ na gabam Ceart
Al tuir do gabtar le neart:
Calmaſ na breas ſ Ceart an,
Sin ſinſneaſ fear nanban.

But in the caſe of Brien there was not only ſeniority (being deſcended from Heber) but power to ſupport it; and

and thus much to obviate the charge of uſurpation againſt this prince. As to the notice and time given to Malachie to collect his forces, it was the conſtant practice in Ireland from all antiquity. Did a prince attempt any other mode, he would not only be abandoned by his own party, but he would be held forth as a mirror of baſeneſs to lateſt poſterity. In the beginning of the third century, when Mac-Con denounced war againſt the monarch Art, this laſt demanded twelve months time to prepare for the battle: but Mac Con's ambaſſadors ſhewing the impoſſibility of granting ſo long a time, as their maſter's army was moſtly compoſed of foreign mercenaries, hired for a certain time only, this plea was admitted by Art's miniſters, and the battle fought much ſooner. Had his army been natives, he could not refuſe the demand. The ſame mode was obſerved in every other revolution; heralds were conſtantly ſent, and the day of action was mutually agreed on. Thus, the time granted to Malachie was not, we ſee, a ſingle caſe, nor the uſe he made of it to be cenſured. A. C.

Brien now received hoſtages from Malachie, as ſureties for his peaceable behaviour. He alſo demanded freſh ones from the king and princes of Leinſter, and the Danes of Dublin. He marched his army to Athlone, requiring the king and princes of Conaught to meet him there by a certain day, to render him homage as monarch of Ireland, and to give ſureties for their dutiful demeanour. From thence he proceeded to Ulſter, where like ceremonies were performed, and hoſtages put into his hands. Marianus, the ſucceſſor of St. Patrick, at the head of his clergy, paid his duty to Brien. He received the holy communion at his hands, and made an offering on the altar of the great church, of an ingot of gold of twenty ounces. He alſo made large preſents to ornament the cathedral of Ardmagh, at the requeſt of Marianus, and declared his intentions of being there interred. He returned to Tara, where, in the preſence

A. C. preſence of the princes and chief nobility of the land, he was ſolemnly anointed and crowned by the archbiſhop of Caſhell; and it was then announced to the people, "that Brien, the ſon of Cineidi, the ſon of Lorcan, "and ſo on to Mileſius, was monarch of Ireland;" which was confirmed by their giving what is called, *The Royal Shout.*

After his coronation, ſays the *Bruodin Chronicle,* a *Feis,* or national aſſembly, was convened at Tara, where many new and wholeſome laws and regulations were made, the national hiſtory reviſed, and a decree was paſſed, by which great families ſhould, for the future, be diſtinguiſhed by certain ſurnames to avoid confuſion. But theſe were not to be arbitrarily impoſed as in other countries. Each chief was to be called after ſome certain anceſtor, whoſe particular virtues would always remind him of his origin. This cuſtom had been introduced into Munſter in the days of Ceallachan, and into other provinces, but it was confined to a very few families; from the preſent reign it came into general uſe. Thus the ſucceſſors of the preſent prince, from him, aſſumed the name of O'Brien, or the deſcendants of Brien. The iſſue of his brother Mahon were called Mac Mahon. The O'Neils were ſo called from Neill the Grand, or of the Nine Hoſtages; and ſo on of other families. The adjuncts O' or Mac, which imported the ſon, or the deſcendant, were prefixed to each name. The chief of each family was diſtinguiſhed from its branches, by preſerving the ſurname *only,* as O'Brien, O'Neil, Mac Carthy, &c. whilſt to all the reſt the chriſtian name was added. Theſe titles were ſo highly eſteemed in Ireland, that when it was known to a certainty, in the reign of Henry the eighth, that O'Brien had rejected his for the more degrading one of earl of Thomond, the chiefs of his own blood, ſet fire to his noble manſion at Cluanroad, near Ennis, and would have conſumed him in the flames, but for the timely interpoſition

terpoſition of Mac Clanchy, chief juſtice of North Mun- A. C.
ſter. John O'Neil, in the reign of Elizabeth, returned the patent of earl of Tyrone, granted to his father, and complained of the diſhonour he affixed to his blood in accepting of it. He alſo bitterly reproached Mac Carthie for accepting of the title of earl of Clancarthy. In ſhort, the Iriſh chiefs regarded theſe titles of nobility as degradations; and this is the reaſon why, in the Iriſh peerage, ſo few Mileſians are to be found. Certain it is, that the few Iriſh who have ſtill preſerved their family honours, ſhould, in juſtice, take precedence of the preſent nobility of Europe, as being *allodial*, or titles from the moſt remote antiquity, whereas theſe laſt are at beſt but of modern date.

Having wiſely regulated the national ſyſtem, Brien diſſolved the aſſembly, and ſent ambaſſadors (ſays the Bruodin Chronicle) to the different princes of Europe, announcing his election to the Iriſh monarchy. With theſe embaſſies were ſent preſents of fine horſes, wolf-dogs, and hawks, &c. His next care was to ſee the laws every where executed with ſtrictneſs and impartiality, and the money appropriated to public uſes, juſtly applied. It was aſtoniſhing to ſee what a new face the whole kingdom aſſumed, in a ſhort time, through his care and attention. The cities, from a ruined ſtate, became more ample and ſplendid; the churches, monaſteries, and public hoſpitals were repaired or rebuilt with additional majeſty; and piety, peace, and plenty ſpread far and wide! The edict, which he publiſhed when king of Munſter againſt the heathen Danes, had ſo viſible an effect on the conduct and morals of that barbarous people, that it became now national; and this, with the exhortations and examples of the clergy, wonderfully facilitated the converſion and civilization of them.

We

A. C. We have already obſerved the ſplendour and dignity with which he ſupported the character of king of Leath-Mogha: the title of monarch of Ireland was a new acceſſion of power, and an additional increaſe of revenue; and theſe were but freſh incitements to hoſpitality and philanthropiſm. As monarch of Ireland, the following were the annual contributions from the provinces of Leth-Cuin, for the ſupport of his dignity: from Connaught he received eight hundred fat oxen, a thouſand wethers, eight hundred pigs, and four hundred pieces of cloth. From Tyrone, in Ulſter, three hundred oxen, five hundred ſheep, one hundred and ſeventy ſwine, one hundred and fifty pieces of cloth, and three hundred tons of iron. From Tyrconnel, ſix hundred beeves, five hundred ſheep, four hundred ſwine, a hundred tons of iron, and three hundred pieces of cloth. From the Clana-Ruighruidhe, or poſterity of Ir, in Ulſter, eight hundred oxen, ſixty-ſix wethers, and a hundred and fifty pieces of cloth. From Leinſter, as monarch, two hundred oxen, eight hundred wethers, a hundred pigs, two hundred pieces of cloth, and five hundred and fifty tons of iron. The Oſſorians paid a hundred and ſixty bullocks, two hundred wethers, a hundred pigs, and fifty tons of iron. The city of Dublin, with the ports of Wexford and Drogheda, &c. paid three hundred and ſixty-five tons of French, and two hundred and ſixty-eight tons of Spaniſh wine, beſides money and other duties, the quantities of which are not expreſſed. From this relation it will appear, that the EXCHEQUER *revenues* of the monarch Brien, were equal to thoſe of any prince at this day in Europe (being appropriated to the ſplendor of the diadem only), and his expences were proportioned to them. The regal ſeat of Cean-Corradh, about a mile beyond Killaloe, being very old, he pulled down and converted to kitchens and offices, and at a place, ſome diſtance from it, called to this day Ball-Boirhumhe,

Boirhumhe, or the Habitation of Boirhumhe (i. e. the Raiſer of Tributes, the epithet of this prince), he erected a noble banqueting houſe. From the kitchens were two long galleries, or corridors, parallel to each, carried acroſs a flat, to this banqueting-houſe. An hundred ſervants were every day, at dinner and ſupper, arranged in each of theſe galleries. The buſineſs of one ſet was to paſs from hand to hand, from the kitchens, the different diſhes for the entertainment; and of the others, with equal celerity, to return them. From Ball-Boirumhe, a wooden bridge was carried acroſs the Shannon for the convenience of this houſe (the ſtone one, lower down, being ſtrongly fortified, as is evident at this day); and oppoſite to it, were his wine cellars. The place yet bears the name of Cloch-na-Fhionne, or the wine ſtone, or building. A C.

Here did this monarch entertain the princes and nobles of the nation in regular rotation, with a ſplendour and politeneſs unknown for at leaſt two centuries. So exact was the etiquette of his court, that the rank, ſtation, and places of his different viſitors were aſcertained, ſo that no confuſion or diſpute could ariſe on account of precedency. He ſaw both the inconvenience and the impropriety of any prince's followers appearing at his court in arms; and it was a rule he eſtabliſhed, that none but his brave Dalgais, or body-guards, ſhould be permitted to carry arms at Ball-Boirumhe. Beſides his army, he encreaſed his navy conſiderably; amongſt the reſt he built three ſhips of enormous ſize, much like thoſe carracks which appeared ſo formidable in later times. We may judge of their ſtrength and force by his ſon Donough, with a ſingle ſhip of this ſtructure, attacking, ſinking, or deſtroying fourteen of the enemy's ſhips, as the Annals of Inis-Fallen, under the year 1056, note!

A. C.

CHAP. VIII.

The king of Leinſter offended at the court of Brien, returns home in diſguſt, and confederates with the Danes—invades Meath—Brien pitches his camp near Kilmainhim, and lays Leinſter under contribution—returns to Munſter for the winter—great preparations for the enſuing campaign—a liſt of ſome of the principal chiefs who attended the ſtandard of Brien—number of foreigners in the Leinſter army—diſpoſitions for battle—an account of the battle of Cluantarff—defeat of the Danes, and death of Brien—detail of the ſlain on both ſides—character of Brien Boirumhe.

FOR more than ten years had the kingdom enjoyed a moſt profound and undiſturbed peace; and, during that period, IN NO INSTANCE, were the laws of the land violated. An incident, in itſelf of the moſt trifling nature, however, ſoon deſtroyed this ſo long wiſhed-for happineſs, and left the kingdom once more a prey to faction and party.

Among the many royal viſitors at Ball-Boirumhe, was Maol-mordha Mac Murroch, king of Leinſter. Between this prince, and Morrogh, eldeſt ſon to Brien, the Tanaiſte, or heir apparent to the crown of Munſter, no real friendſhip ſubſiſted. Morrogh always deemed him a baſe enemy to his country, and the conſtant aſſociate and protector of the heathen Danes. He had more than once publicly attacked his abilities as a general; and to his ill conduct he attributed the defeat he himſelf had given to the Lagenians and Danes in the battle of Glean-Mamha. Where ill blood has long ſubſiſted, the ſlighteſt innuendo will often throw it into a flame. Among the amuſements of the Iriſh, cheſs and back-gammon were favourite

favourite games. Morrogh engaged one day at a party at chefs, Maolmordha looking on, adviſed his antagoniſt to a movement, which loſt Morrogh the game. He tartly remarked, "That if Maolmordha *had given as* "*good advice at the battle of Glean-Mamha, the Danes* "*would not have received ſo capital an overthrow.*" This was touching him in the moſt tender point; he felt the utmoſt force of it, and ſpiritedly anſwered, "*That he* "*hoped his next advice to them would be attended with* "*better ſucceſs.*" Laws of hoſpitality and politeneſs prevented Morrogh from noticing this threat. Maolmordha haſtily retired to his apartment, and early next morning, without any kind of ceremony, departed from Ball-Boirumhe for his own territories. He calls together his council, and relates the behaviour of Morrogh. He recapitulates all the hardſhips his country and his aſſociates ſuffered by the power of Brien, and his ſpeech breathes nothing but war and revenge. The chiefs of the Danes of Leinſter are invited to a conference; and a league is formed, by which they engage to aſſiſt him, with all their power, to reduce Munſter. Emiſſaries are ſent to Denmark and Norway. The Danes of Normandy, Britain, and the iſles, joyfully enter into the confederacy, pleaſed at the proſpect of once more gaining poſſeſſions in this land *flowing with milk and honey*. A. C.

Whilſt Maolmordha was waiting for the arrival of his foreign auxiliaries, in order to inure his troops to action, it was judged adviſeable to make an incurſion into Meath, by way of commencing the war. With a body of troops, Danes and Lagenians, he penetrated into Meath, as far as Tearman-Feichin; and on his retreat deſtroyed the country, and carried off an immenſe booty. To be revenged for this affront, Malachie ſent his ſon Flan, with a good body of troops, into Fingal, and the environs of Dublin; but Sitric, the ſon of Amhlaoibh, laid an ambuſcade, in which they were ſeverely handled,

A. C. and among the ſlain was Flan himſelf, with ſeveral officers of prime quality. Malachie, on this defeat, waited in perſon on Brien, at Ball-Boirumhe, complained of the injuries he had received from the Lagenians and Danes, and claimed ſupport from Brien as his *chief*. Brien and his ſon Morrogh, enter Leinſter with a powerful army, to chaſtiſe that people for invading Meath, and diſturbing the public tranquillity. Finding no army in Leinſter able to oppoſe them, they fixed their head quarters on the plains near Dublin, from whence parties were ſent out, different ways, miſerably waſting the country, and enriching the camp with their ſpoils. By way of making a diverſion, a fleet of Danes was equipped at Dublin, in which a large body of troops were embarked, who entered the harbour of Cork, and ſurpriſed and plundered that city; but before they could regain their ſhips, the greateſt part of them were cut off, with ſome of their beſt officers.

Near four months was Dublin blockaded, and the province of Leinſter laid under heavy contributions by the imperial army, until the approach of winter obliged them to retire into winter quarters. Both parties, during this receſs, prepare to renew the war with more violence than ever. Troops are pouring into the different ports of Leinſter from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Normandy, Britain, the Orkneys, and every other northern ſettlement. Maolmordha is alſo indefatigable, not only in raiſing new levies, but in labouring to detach different princes from the intereſt of their country. Never were ſuch efforts made by the Danes as upon this occaſion; the beſt men were every where pitched upon for this ſervice, and the moſt experienced officers ſought for. Among others, Brodar and Aiſgiodal, two Daniſh princes, landed at the head of two thouſand choice troops, armed from head to foot.

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These uncommon preparations of the enemy were not unknown to Brien and to his council; and they were the ſtrongeſt arguments to determine the Iriſh to make their utmoſt efforts to render them abortive. To ſhew the world, that Brien wiſhed not that his race and name ſhould ſurvive the liberties of their country, there attended his ſtandard, (of his own family) his five ſons, and his grandſon, his fifteen nephews, and the whole tribe of Dalgais, *with all the chiefs of North Munſter.* The people of South Munſter were equally conſpicuous in the cauſe of liberty, *not one prince abſenting himſelf on this trying occaſion.* Cathal, the ſon of Conchabhar, or Connor, (from whence O'Connor) king of Conaught, attended by O'Heine, prince of Aidhne, O'Kelly, prince of Hi-Maine, O'Flaherty, prince of Weſt Conaught, Mac Dermod, prince of Maigh-Lurg, and many other great chiefs and their followers, with all their poſterity of Luig-Dealbha, both in Conaught and Leinſter, joined the imperial ſtandard. The great ſtewards of Leamhna or Lenox, and of Mar, with many other Albanian chiefs, repaired to the army of Brien. Hugh O'Neill made an offer of his troops and his ſervice, to attend the imperial ſtandard; but Brien politely declined the offer. He had not forgot the former negotiation between Malachie and him; and the conduct of Malachie afterwards, juſtified how well founded his ſuſpicion and jealouſy of both theſe princes were. A. C.

At the head of 30,000 choſen men, highly appointed, Brien marched into Leinſter, about the beginning of April, 1014, in three diviſions, and was joined by Malachie, king of Meath. He encamped, as he had done the year before, near Killmainhim; and, after both armies viewing each other for ſome days, it was agreed to determine the fate of Ireland by a general battle on the plains of Cluantarff. Early on the 23d of April, being Good-Friday, the Danes appeared, formed in three ſeparate

A. C parate bodies, for battle; and by their diſpoſitions, Brien regulated his own. The auxiliaries from Sweden and Denmark conſiſting of 12,000 men, amongſt whom 2000 were heavy armed, commanded by Brodar and Airgiodal, formed the right diviſion; the left, of nearly an equal number, commanded by Sitric, conſiſted of the Danes of Ireland, and their neighbouring aſſociates; and the centre, compoſed of the flower of Leinſter, under the direction of Maolmordha, who acted as general in chief, formed the enemies diſpoſition of battle. It was judged, that by placing the troops in this manner, under their own leaders, that it would raiſe a ſpirit of generous emulation amongſt them, and that they would vie with each other in feats of bravery.

The right wing of the imperial army was compoſed of the *houſhold troops*, filled up by the prime nobility of Munſter; the invincible tribe of Dalgais, with all the princes of Brien's blood, were alſo in this diviſion, and Malachie, with the forces of Meath. This was to be commanded by Morrogh and Sitric, prince of Ulſter. In the left wing, commanded by the king of Conaught, all the Conacian troops were placed; but, as it did not form ſo extended a line as the enemies, ſeveral detachments were added to it, from the troops of Arra, Coonach, Muſcry, and Corca-Baiſghe. The troops of South Munſter, under their different chiefs, with theſe of the Deaſies, formed the central diviſion, commanded by Cian, the ſon of Maolmuadh. Brien rode through the ranks, with a crucifix in one hand, and his drawn ſword in the other. He exhorted them as he paſſed along, "to do their duty as ſoldiers and Chriſtians, in the "cauſe of their religion and their country. He re- "minded them of all the diſtreſſes their anceſtors were "reduced to, by the perfidious and ſanguinary Danes, "ſtrangers to religion and humanity! That *theſe*, "their ſucceſſors, waited impatiently to renew the ſame

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" ſcenes of devaſtation and cruelty, and, by way of A. C.
" anticipation, (ſays he) they have fixed on the very
" day on which Chriſt was crucified, to deſtroy the
" country of his greateſt votaries; but that God, whoſe
" cauſe you are to fight this day, will be preſent with
" you, and deliver his enemies into your hands." So ſaying, he proceeded towards the centre to lead on his troops to action; but the chiefs of the army with one voice requeſted he would retire from the field of battle, on account of his great age, and leave to the gallant Morrogh the chief command.

At eight in the morning the ſignal for ſlaughter was given. The Dalgais, with the whole right wing, marched to attack, ſword in hand, the Danes, commanded by Brodar and Arſgiodal; but an uncommon act of cowardice or treachery had like to have deſtroyed the whole imperial army: for at this very critical minute, Malachie, with his Meathians, retired ſuddenly from the field, leaving the reſt of this body expoſed to a far ſuperior number of enemies. But Morrogh, with great preſence of mind, cried out to his brave Dalgais, " that
" this was the time to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as they
" alone would have the unrivalled glory of cutting off
" that formidable body of the enemy." And now, whilſt cloſe engaged with battle-ax, ſword, and dagger on the right, the left, under the command of the king of Conaught, haſten to engage the Danes of Leinſter and their inſular levies, whilſt the troops of South Munſter attack the apoſtate Maolmordha, and his degenerate Lagenians! Never was greater intrepidity, perſeverance, or animoſity, diſplayed in any battle than in this; as every thing depended on open force and courage. The ſituation of the ground admitted of no ambuſcades, and none were uſed. They fought man to man, and breaſt to breaſt, and the victors in one rank, fell victims in the next. The officers and generals on both ſides performed

A. C. formed prodigies of valour. Morrogh, his ſon Turlogh, his brethren and kinſmen, flew from place to place; and every where left the ſanguinary traces of their courage and of their fortitude! The ſlaughter committed by Morrogh, determined Carolus and Conmaol, two Danes of diſtinction, to attack, in conjunction, this prince, and they both fell by his ſword! It was obſerved, that he, with other chiefs, had retired from the battle more than twice; and, after each return, ſeemed to be poſſeſſed of redoubled force. It was to ſlake their thirſt, and cool their hands, ſwelled with the uſe of the ſword and battle-ax, in an adjoining brook, over which a ſmall guard was placed, and this the Danes ſoon deſtroyed. On rejoining his troops the laſt time, Sitric Mac Lodair, with a body of Danes, was making a freſh attack on the Dalgais, and him Morrogh ſingled out, and with a blow of his battle-ax divided his body in two, through his armour! The other Iriſh commanders in like manner diſtinguiſhed themſelves, though their exploits are not ſo particularly narrated; and it would ſeem from the number of prime quality that fell on both ſides, that, beſides its being a general battle, the chiefs every where ſingled out each other to ſingle combat. The courage of the Iriſh was not to be ſubdued: until near four o'clock in the afternoon, did the iſſue of the day remain doubtful; and then it was that they made ſo general an attack on the enemy, that its force was not to be reſiſted. Deſtitute of leaders, and of courſe of order, the Danes gave way on every ſide. Morrogh at this time, through the uncommon uſe and exertion of his ſword-arm, had both hand and arm ſo ſwelled and pained, as to be unable to lift them up. In this condition he was attacked ſword in hand, by Henry, the ſon of Eibhroic, a Daniſh prince; but Morrogh cloſing in upon him, ſeized him with the left hand, ſhook him out of his coat of mail, and proſtrating him, pierced his body with his

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ſword, by fixing its pummel on his breaſt, and preſſing A. C.
the weight of his body on it. In this dying ſituation of Henry, he nevertheleſs ſeized the dagger which hung by Morrogh's ſide, and with it gave him, at the ſame inſtant, a mortal wound! The Dane expired on the ſpot; but Morrogh lived until next morning, employing the intermediate time in acts of piety and devotion; in making, ſays my MSS. a general confeſſion, receiving the euchariſt, and dying as an hero and a Chriſtian ſhould die!

The confuſion became general through the Daniſh army, and they fled on every ſide. Corcoran, one of the monarch's aid du camps, ſeeing the ſtandard of Morrogh ſtruck, (for this notified the death of the chief), and in the general derôute unable to diſtinguiſh friend from foe, concluded that the imperial army was defeated. He haſtily entered the tent of Brien, who was on his knees before a crucifix, and requeſted he would immediately mount his horſe and eſcape, for that all was loſt. "Do you," ſays this hero, "and my other "attendants (riſing up) fly. It was to conquer or "die I came here, and my enemies ſhall not boaſt "the killing of me, by inglorious wounds!" So ſaying, he ſeized his ſword and battle-ax, his conſtant companions in war, and reſolutely waited the event. In this general confuſion, Brodar, and a few of his followers, entered the royal tent. He was armed from head to foot; and yet the gallant old chief pierced his body through his coat of mail! Two more of his attendants met the ſame fate; and Brien received his death by a fourth!

The intrepid Sitric, prince of Ulſter, the faithful companion of Brien in all his wars, was witneſs to the death of Morrogh, and revenged it by that of Plait, a Daniſh knight of great intrepidity, and by numbers of others of leſs note. Eagerly purſuing Brodar and his party,

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A. C he ſaw them enter the tent of Brien, and cut to pieces the remains of them. But when he beheld the aged monarch extended on the ground, his grief was extreme. He threw himſelf on the dead body: the many wounds he had received in the battle, burſt forth afreſh; he refuſed every kind of aſſiſtance, and expired in the arms of his friend and faithful ally! Theſe particulars of the death of Brien, taken from the Leabhar-Oiris, I thought would not be unacceptable to the reader, more eſpecially as I find no two modern writers in accord, as to the manner of his diſſolution.

From the acrimony and length of this battle, we may conclude few priſoners were taken, and none certainly were! Death or an eſcape, was all the Danes had for it; and they were eagerly purſued to their ſhips, and to the very gates of Dublin. From the vaſt number of chiefs who fell, we may form ſome idea of the carnage on both ſides. On the imperial ſide were ſlain the monarch himſelf, his ſon and general Morrogh, with two of his brothers, and his grandſon Turloch, who, though but fifteen years old, performed prodigies of valour that day! His nephew Conuing, Sitric, prince of Ulſter, Mothla, prince of the Deaſies, Eocha, chief of the O'Scanlans, Neal O'Cuin, and Cudula Mac Ceinidi, his chief favourites, received the ſame fate. The chiefs of Corca Baiſgin, of Fermoigh, of Coonach, of Kerry Luaçhra, of Loch-Lene, &c. fell alſo in this battle; as did of the Conought princes, O'Kelly, chief of Hi-Maine, O'Heyne, and many others. The great ſtewards of Lenox and Mar, with other brave Albanians, the deſcendants of Core, king of Munſter, died in the ſame cauſe. Beſides theſe princes, and vaſt numbers of leſs note, the Bruodin Chronicle, and other indiſputable records, eſteem the loſs of the Iriſh, horſe and foot, that day, at 7000.

On the ſide of the enemy there fell Maolmordha, the cauſe of all this blood, with the princes of Hi-Failge,

Failge, or O'Faly, of Magh-Liffe, and almoſt all the other chiefs of Leinſter, who attended his ſtandard, with 3000 of their braveſt troops. Their right wing was compoſed of the new Danes, and the firmeſt troops they had. Theſe ſuffered amazingly by the Dalgais. Their principal officers were cut off to a man, with 7000 common ſoldiers! Of the left wing, beſides moſt of their officers of note were ſlain in the field 4000 men, making in all 14000. This, though an amazing ſlaughter, conſidering the numbers who engaged, yet I am ſatisfied by no means includes the entire of the enemy, who were ſlain in the battle and in the purſuit; and for this reaſon: with Brien fell that day, the vitals of the Iriſh conſtitution. Almoſt all the ſucceeding rulers were *never acknowledged* by our own annaliſts as monarchs, in the full meaning of the word. They were rather chiefs of different parties; the nation was quite diſunited; and if the Daniſh loſs had not been much greater at this time, from the attempts they formerly made, we may preſume, that they would not totally relinquiſh an object, which had for above two centuries, coſt them ſo much blood and treaſure. But the fact is, that their power was totally broke at this time. The ſurviving foreigners took an eternal farewel of the country; and the Iriſh Danes were content to become obedient to, and crouch under that government, which they ſo often laboured to undermine and deſtroy. A. C

Thus fell the immortal Brien, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, the moſt uniformly perfect character that hiſtory can produce. If we conſider him in his military capacity, we ſhould ſuppoſe, that the ſtudy of arms ſuperſeded every other object. In twenty-five different rencounters, and twenty-nine pitched battles, did he engage his Daniſh and other enemies; and victory always attended his ſtandard! By his conduct, prudence, and bravery, he raiſed his country, from a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery, to the higheſt pinnacle of glory!

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A. C. His ſuperior genius and ſucceſs in war, did not make him fond of it; and he preferred the way of negotiation to arms, where it was admiſſible—witneſs his relinquiſhing Meath to Mallachie, on his reſigning the monarchy. As a ſtateſman and as a legiſlator, his talents were not leſs conſpicuous. Whatever he recovered by the ſword, he preſerved by the prudence of his councils, and the mildneſs of his adminiſtration. The whole tenor of his life proclaims, that the only objects of his purſuits, were to reſtore to his country its ancient laws and liberties. Munſter had been long unacquainted with the bleſſings of peace, until he became its king; and when he became monarch, all Ireland partook of this happineſs. The wonderful abilities of Brien made him ſhine in every department of the ſtate. He ſaw with his own eyes every defect in the political machine; and his own genius found out the remedies. He gave vigour and force to the laws, and the ſons of rapine and plunder inſtantly diſappeared! He re-eſtabliſhed religion and letters, and was the firſt Iriſh prince who laboured to reform and convert his Daniſh ſubjects. If he was terrible to his enemies in the field, he was mild and merciful to them in the cabinet; and during his whole reign, a ſingle act of cruelty or injuſtice cannot be laid to his charge. His great attention to every department in the exalted ſtation he filled, did not make him forget his duty as a Chriſtian. No one was more conſtant and fervent in their devotions then he; inſomuch, that by moſt of our writers he has been deemed a ſaint, by ſome a martyr. He was eaſy of acceſs, and courteous and polite to all. Whilſt he lived at Ball-Boirumhe, with all the magnificence and profuſion of Iriſh hoſpitality, it was tempered with that decorum and eaſe, that the dignity of the prince was never loſt in the cheerful affability of the companion. In ſhort, as a ſoldier, a ſtateſman, a legiſlator, a Chriſtian, and a ſcholar, he had not a ſuperior; and if any thing can

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blazon his character higher, it muſt be his manner of dying. At the age of eighty-eight, when the vital forces ſenſibly decay; when the languid motion of the blood mechanically affects the heart and ſpirits, and naturally brings on dejections; at a time when Brien himſelf was requeſted to retire to his tent from the horrors of the day, and leave the conduct of the battle to his ſon—at this time, and under theſe circumſtances, he was told, that all was loſt, and was himſelf requeſted to fly! Then it was, that the hero and the monarch blazed forth in their utmoſt luſtre! "Do you (ſays he), and "my other attendants fly. It was to conquer or die "I came here; and my enemies ſhall not boaſt the "killing me by inglorious wounds!" This was cloſing the ſcene with true dignity! A. C.

His body, after embalming, according to his will, was conveyed to Ardmach. Firſt, the clergy of Swords in ſolemn proceſſion, brought it to the great abbey; from thence the next morning, the biſhops and clergy of Damh-Hag, or Duleek, conducted it to the church of St. Cianan. Here the clergy of Lughmhaigh, attended the corpſe to their own monaſtery. The archbiſhop of Ardmach, with his ſuffragans and clergy, received the body at Lughmhaigh, from whence it was conveyed to their cathedral. For twelve days and nights, ſays my MS. was it watched by the clergy, during which time there was a continued ſcene of prayers and devotions; and then it was interred with great funeral pomp, at the north ſide of the altar of the great church. The bodies of Morrogh and Sitric, with the hearts of Conuing, and O'Felan, prince of the Deaſies, at their own requeſts, were depoſited in the ſouth iſle of that church; whilſt his grandſon Turloch, and moſt of the other chiefs, were interred at the monaſtery of Kilmainhim.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Writers of the tenth century—St. Cormoc, an account of his famous work, called the Pſalter of Caſhill—a detail of other eminent men, with the liſt of the works of ſome of them.

THOUGH the tenth century has been, by almoſt univerſal conſent, called the dark and ſterile age; on account of the abject ſtate of letters, and the few men of eminence it produced, occaſioned by the depredations of the northern nations; yet even at this very period we find, beſides the hereditary antiquarians, poets, and hiſtorians, Ireland ſtill produce men of uncommon erudition and abilities. Amongſt theſe St. Cormoc merits the firſt place, on account of his exalted ſtation and pre-eminence in letters. This great king and holy biſhop, had employed the leiſure time of many years in reviſing and correcting his native hiſtory, and which he lived to complete, as may be ſeen by his will, which we have already given. It is not a general hiſtory of Ireland, as ſome have ſuppoſed; it is more properly the hiſtory of the poſterity of Heber, or of the Munſter line of kings. It begins with the creation, the fall of man, and the antediluvian world; and in the chronology he ſeems to adhere to the Septuagint account. Phænius, the great anceſtor of the Gathelian race, he declares to be the ſon of Baath, the ſon of Magog, the ſon of Japhet, the ſon of Noah. He relates the dereliction of Egypt, by Niulus, the ſon of Phænius, and the voyages and adventures of his poſterity, to their ſettling in Ireland. From this period to his own days, he confines his inquiries to the exploits of his own anceſtors of the line of Heber;

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ſo that with great propriety he ſtyles it the Pſalter of Caſhill, or Book of Munſter. Beſides this moſt valuable record, he alſo wrote Seanaſan Cormoc, or Cormoc's Gloſſary of obſolete words; and this work, with ſeveral later editions, was publiſhed at Louvain, eary in the laſt century, by O'Clery. A. C.

Sealbhach, ſecretary to king Cormoc, wrote a genealogy of the ſaints of Ireland, beginning with, "Naomh "Seanchas, Naomh, Innſe-Fail:"—or the ſacred genealogy of the Iriſh ſaints *.

Probus flouriſhed in this century; and at the requeſt of Paulinus (as he himſelf declares in the concluſion), he wrote, in Latin, the Life and Miracles of St. Patrick, in two books; which work Colgan gives entire, under the title of the Fifth Life of St. Patrick †.

Archbiſhop Foranan, renowned for learning and piety, with twelve holy aſſociates, retired from the fury of the Danes to Flanders, where he founded a monaſtery on the borders of the Maeze, and reſtored the aſcetic diſcipline to its primitive vigour ‡.

St. Cadroe, educated in the univerſity of Ardmach, became ſo celebrated for his univerſal erudition, as to be deemed amongſt the moſt learned of his country. He viſited Britain and Gaul, and ſucceeded Foranan in his monaſtery, and in his zeal and piety. His life is given by Colgan.

In this age Flan, the celebrated ſcribe and chronographer, flouriſhed, as the Annals of the Four Maſters declare; as alſo an anonymous writer, who continued the Pſalter of Caſhill, or Book of Munſter, to the reign of Mahon, king of Munſter; an authentic copy of which, in my poſſeſſion, has been highly uſeful to the preſent work.

* Acta Sanct. Hib. p. 5 † Ibid. p. 105, 152, &c.
‡ Trias Thaum. p. 51.

In

A. C. In the tenth century may be alſo placed, the anonymous writer of the Life of Ceallachan-Caiſil. This work is much to be valued, not only on account of the lights it throws on the period and tranſactions of which it ſpeaks, but alſo becauſe it details in a full manner, the modes of attack in thoſe days, with reſpect to the beſieging of towns, and to general engagements, whether by land or by water.

St. Malbrigid, Mac Dornan, who is in our annals ſtyled ſucceſſor to St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Adamnanus, head of the religious of all Ireland, and of the greateſt part of Europe, flouriſhed in this century. Rumold, biſhop of Cluanard, Mainchas, abbot of Benchoir, Carpre the anchorite, the abbots Paulinus, Colman, and Cormoc, with Joſeph, who from a recluſe was raiſed to the ſee of Ardmagh, are all highly celebrated in the Annals of the Four Maſters, for their religion and learning.

St. Columbanus, abbot and anchorite, in the middle of this century, retired to Flanders; and it is ſaid to be the firſt who introduced amongſt that people, this ſpecies of mortification *. After exhorting and preaching with uncommon zeal and devotion, he retired to a cemetery in the church of St. Bavo, in Ghent, in which he continued to his death, which happened in about two years after his retreat, i. e. A. C. 959. He is ſtill invoked in times of public calamity, as one of the patrons of that city.

* Vita St. Columbani, f. 2.

BOOK

BOOK XII.

CHAP. I.

No national advantages made of the late great victory—retreat of the Munſter and Leinſter forces—Cian aſſumes the title of king of Munſter, and demands hoſtages from the ſons of Brien, which are refuſed—character of Cian—his pretenſions oppoſed by Domhnal—retreat of the troops of North Munſter—the prince of Oſſory demands hoſtages of them, and is refuſed—the Munſter troops prepare for battle, and are joined by their ſick and wounded—the Oſſorians generouſly refuſe to attack them—battle of Maigh-Guillidhe.

AFTER ſo deciſive, though dear-bought a victory as the battle of Cluantarff, we ſhould naturally ſuppoſe that the firſt objects of the conquerors would be to proceed to the election of an emperor, and the forming ſuch a new code of laws as would ſecure to the kingdom that internal peace and ſecurity which it ſtood in ſuch need of. But no ſuch thing! That great ſoul, which animated this whole party, fled to heaven; and characters ſo great, and ſo elevated, are not the product of every age! The king of Conaught, apprehenſive of domeſtic troubles, haſtily retired to his own territories, and the Munſter army, under the command of its different chiefs, followed the example. But ſcarce had theſe laſt

A. C. cloſed the march of the firſt day, when old diſputes and diſtinctions aroſe, and having now no other enemies to fear, they began to look for new ones among themſelves.

Cian, the ſon of Maolmuadh, chief of the ſept of the O'Mahonies, thought that his power and blood juſtly entitled him to the ſucceſſion to the crown of Munſter. He ſent a formal embaſſy, on the next morning, being the 26th of April, to Teige and Donogh, the ſurviving ſons of Brien, informing them of his intentions of being proclaimed king of Munſter, and requeſting from them the ſame aid and aſſiſtance he had afforded to their father, at the ſame time requiring their ſubmiſſion as their chief, and hoſtages for their future good behaviour. To ſoften theſe demands, it was repreſented to them, that by the will of their common anceſtor, Olioll-Ollum, the government of Munſter was to paſs alternately from the houſe of Eogan to that of Cormoc; that their father being of the latter houſe, and laſt king of Munſter, the choice of a ſucceſſor neceſſarily fell upon the Eoganachts; and, therefore, beſides the ties of affinity (he being married to their ſiſter) thoſe of ſtrict juſtice ſtrongly pleaded in his behalf. However ſurpriſed and ſhocked at this meſſage, as the brothers neceſſarily muſt be, yet they returned a reſolute and ſpirited anſwer. As to the ſubmiſſion and aid which Cian boaſted of affording their father, they obſerved, "That "it was not voluntary, but exacted by the ſword. That "the will of Olioll had long ſince been broken through, "and rendered nugatory by the poſterity of Eogan, who "had uſurped to themſelves, in too many inſtances, the "right of governing Munſter. That their father Brien, "by force of arms, had obliged them to recognize his "title, and that, by the ſame means, they would pre-"ſerve this rank, and tranſmit it to their poſterity. It "is true," added they, "we are not ſo numerous nor

"ſo

" ſo well prepared for battle as you, having loſt moſt of A. C.
" our brethren and friends in the late engagement; but
" we have hearts unacquainted with fear, and the God
" of armies will ſupport us in the day of trial."

But, whilſt with firmneſs the ſons of Brien prepare for the event, ſound policy pointed out to them the means of weakening their enemy. Cian, it muſt be confeſſed, was a prince of great bravery and wiſdom. In the life of his father he was delivered up, as an hoſtage, to Brien; his gallantry and engaging behaviour had ſo far endeared him to that chief, that he gave him his daughter Saobh, or Sabina, to wife. He conſtantly attended Brien in all his wars, fought by his ſide, and ſhared in his dangers and in his glory. No one ſeemed more worthy the crown of Munſter, or monarchy of Ireland, than Cian; and had fate ſo decreed it, in all appearance Ireland would not have felt theſe calamities which ſhe has ſo long endured. The troops of South Munſter, in the battle of Cluantarff, had not ſuffered near ſo much as their brethren of North Munſter. Theſe laſt had to engage with the flower of the Daniſh troops, above two thouſand of whom were completely armed; and they were beſides deſerted by Malachie and his forces of Meath. The remains of their forces, after the battle, did not amount to quite two thouſand men, out of which twelve hundred only were able to bear arms, the reſt being deſperately wounded in different parts; whereas the troops of South Munſter were infinitely ſuperior, and beſides, had not near ſo many wounded. Cian, alone, was at the head of three thouſand men; but Domhnal, the ſon of Dubhdabhoran, and chief of the O'Donachoes, commanded a very reſpectable body of troops independent of Cian. To him the brothers ſent an expreſs, announcing the intentions of Cian, and requeſting his aid. If the ambition of Domhnal was rouſed by the attempts of Cian, his pride was equally wounded

A. C. to think he would carry them into execution without conſulting him.

He immediately proceeded to the tent of the ſon of Maolmuadh, and he found all his men buſied in preparing themſelves for battle. He demanded the cauſe, and Cian, without any reſerve, diſcloſed it to him. After ſome expoſtulations, Domhnal, in a few words, informed him, "That in his junction with the imperial army, "he had not the moſt diſtant idea of promoting Cian "to the ſovereignty of Munſter in caſe of a vacancy; "and that he now ſolemnly proteſted againſt his pro"ceedings." Cian fiercely anſwered, "That he never "once thought of aſking either his advice or aſſiſtance "on the occaſion." On this Domhnal and his army ſeparated from that of Cian, and formed a diſtinct camp. The brothers, well appriſed of theſe diviſions, knew that Cian was too great a politician to think of attacking them, circumſtanced as he now was, and, therefore, after ſtanding for ſome time under arms, ordered a retreat, directing the ſick and the baggage to be placed in the front of their little army. Cian and his party proceeded, at the ſame time, to Ibh-Eachach, in Carbery, the place of his reſidence, as did Domhnal to Kerry, but by different routes.

But the ſons of Brien were decreed to ſuffer ſtill more mortifying trials before they reached the manſion of their anceſtors. As ſoon as they approached the borders of Oſſory, Fitz-Patrick, chief of that territory, ſent ambaſſadors, requiring hoſtages for the good behaviour of their troops, and alſo for their peaceable demeanour for the time to come. Enraged at ſo inſolent a demand, and from a conſtant tributary to the crown of Munſter, they returned for anſwer, "That they were "aſtoniſhed at the preſumption of the prince of Oſ"ſory, in daring to ſend them ſuch a meſſage; and "though their troops were greatly diminiſhed, yet they

"had

" had ſtill ſufficient to puniſh a daſtardly chief, like A.C.
" him, who meanly availed himſelf of his preſent ſeem-
" ing ſuperiority." Nothing can prove more ſtrongly how deluſive and tranſitory human honours and applauſe are, than the preſent ſituation of theſe princes contraſted with the rank they held a few days earlier! There we behold them courted and careſſed, honoured and feared, by the army and by the whole kingdom! Here, their weight and power being greatly diminiſhed (for reſpect and adulation ſeem to adhere to ſtations, not to perſons) theſe honours are turned to inſults, and this applauſe to contempt! What availed it to the ſons of the immortal Brien, that their father, their brothers, their nephew, their kinſmen, and almoſt the entire tribe of Dalgais, fell a ſacrifice to the glory and independence of their country; and that their preſent ſituation entitled them to every honour that could be conferred on men! Theſe great ſervices, we ſee, are almoſt inſtantly forgot, and their preſent conſequence was only rated according to their preſent power!

The ambaſſadors of Fitz-Patrick, ſenſible of the great ſuperiority of his army (being joined by a body of Lagenians) and foreſeeing the deſtruction of the remains of the brave Dalgais, if a battle ſhould enſue, conjure the brothers to make ſome ſmall conceſſions to their maſter, and not to diſmiſs them with an anſwer ſo ill adapted to their preſent ſituation. " At what period of time," replied the intrepid Donogh, " did any one of my " anceſtors do homage, or deliver hoſtages, to an Oſſo-" rian? That the poſterity of Eogan ſhould ſometimes " make ſuch demands, is not ſurpriſing, being the iſſue " of the eldeſt ſon of our great anceſtor; but is there " in hiſtory a ſingle inſtance, beſides the preſent, of " the chief of Oſſory's daring to demand hoſtages from " the poſterity of Olioll-Ollum?" So ſaying, he diſ-

" miſſed

A. C. miſſed the ambaſſadors, and began to prepare for the expected engagement.

A body of two hundred men were directed to eſcort the wounded and the baggage to an adjoining fort; but as ſoon as the purport of Fitzpatrick's meſſage became known, a general rage and indignation ſeized on the whole army. The wounded called out to be led to battle. They conjured their brethren not to deſert them, but as they had hitherto lived, ſo they hoped they would now ſuffer them to die by their ſides. They applied to Donogh and to Teige; and, as a farther inducement, obſerved to them, "That by permitting them to ſtand to "their arms, their fellow-ſoldiers would fight with more "intrepidity, and would never think of giving way. Let "ſtakes," ſay they, "be ſtuck in the ground, and ſuffer "each of us, tied to, and ſupported by one of theſe "ſtakes, to be placed in his rank, by the ſide of a ſound "man; our front will be more extended, and we ſhall, "by this means, be enabled to uſe our arms." Their importunities, and theſe reaſons, made a ſtrong impreſſion on the brothers; and between ſeven and eight hundred wounded men, pale, emaciated, and ſupported as above, appeared mixed with the foremoſt of the troops. Never was ſuch another ſight exhibited! The Oſſorians marched to the attack with full aſſurance of victory; but when they regarded the ſituation of almoſt half of the enemy they were to attack, pity and admiration ſucceeded to rage and reſentment! In vain Fitzpatrick called them forth to the battle; in vain he urged that ſo deciſive an opportunity as the preſent, would never offer again, and that, by loſing it, the whole power of Muhſter would ſoon be on their backs. His reaſons were of no weight; and his allies abſolutely refuſed to engage with the troops of North Munſter in their preſent ſituation. The ſons of Brien, ſeeing this defection, prepared for a retreat; but the prince of Oſſory, ſays my MS.

MS. with a ſelect body of followers, conſtantly hovered round this body of men, perpetually haraſſing, but never daring to come to an engagement with them. By this means they loſt a hundred and fifty of their wounded, and many others were cut off in the retreat. After this the remainder of theſe heroes reached Ball-Boirumhe without any further moleſtation. A. C.

We obſerved that Cian and Domhnal ſeparated on their return to Munſter. Cian had not yet loſt ſight of the crown of that province; and the firſt object of his reſentment, after his arrival, was the ſon of Dubhdabhoran. He ſent heralds, denouncing war, and challenging him to battle, in ten days, on the plains of Magh-Guillidhe. Both parties met, and the engagement was long and bloody. The party of Cian was, at length, defeated with great carnage, and among the ſlain were this prince, his two brothers, and three of his ſons. "Thus "fell," ſays the Leabhar Oiris, "the intrepid Cian, as "gallant and generous a prince *as the houſe of Heber ever "produced.*"

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Malachie again ſaluted monarch by the Clan-Colman, but not elected by the national eſtates—Righ-go-freaſabhra, its import—Malachie's remarkable account of the battle of Cluantarff—takes Dublin by aſſault—civil commotions of Munſter—of Leinſter—Malachie repents his former conduct, and devotes the remainder of his life to acts of piety and charity—contentions in Munſter—the Hememonians appoint a protector—remarks on this title—Donough O'Brien overruns Leinſter, Meath, and Conaught—his iſſue—is defeated by his Nephew Turlogh, reſigns the crown, and retires to Rome—the Powers, Plunkets, and Euſtaces of the race of O'Brien—the pretences of Rome to the command of Ireland inquired into and refuted.

MALACHIE, it is ſaid, was proclaimed monarch, by the national eſtates, immediately after the death of Brien. The fact was not certainly ſo; for we have ſeen the chiefs of Munſter and Conaught return to their different countries the ſecond day after the battle of Cluantarff. Had their ſuffrages been demanded in favour of a ſucceſſor, I take it for granted that Malachie would be the laſt man in the world on whom they would beſtow it. He had been formally depoſed in 1001, and reſigned the crown ſome time after. During the glorious reign of Brien, in no one inſtance was he intitled to the confidence of the public. We have ſeen the late Daniſh war to commence with an incurſion into Meath, and Malachie, in perſon, claim the protection of the monarch as his chief; yet in the deciſive battle that followed,

lowed, the year after, forgetful of his allegiance to his A. C.
ſovereign, of the duty he owed his country, of his own honour, and of the juſt revenge which the death of his ſon and the deſtruction of his territories demanded—on the inſtant of trial, he baſely deſerted his ſtation, and by this defection hazarded the eternal ruin of his country! Was ſuch a character the object of national eſteem? The truth of the matter is—Malachie, ſeeing no formidable competitors, and being at the head of a good army, in the centre of his relations, the Clan-Colman, or ſouthern Hi-Niall race, he convened an aſſembly of the eſtates of Meath, in the middle of May, 1014, by whom he was ſaluted king of Tara, and monarch of Ireland; and, in this inſtance, gave the example to future powerful princes to aſſume the title, and, in part, the power of monarchs, without a previous general election; ſuch in fact were almoſt all the ſucceeding rulers of Ireland! Theſe princes have been very properly ſtigmatized by our ſenachies, Rige go preabhra, or kings by force or violence, in oppoſition to thoſe legally elected, who they have called lain-righe, or kings in the complete ſenſe of the word.

In this convention, we are told by Mac Liagh, hiſtorian to Brien Boirumhe, and it is alſo recorded in the Leabhar Oiris, that the eſtates of Meath requeſted of Malachie ſome account of the late battle of Cluantarff, of which ſo much had been ſaid, and that he anſwered them thus: "It is impoſſible for me to relate the parti-
"culars of this battle, nor do I believe could any one
"leſs than an angel from heaven. I retired, with the
"troops under my command, to an eminence, ſeparated
"from the combatants by a field and a ditch only.
"The appearance of the men, the glittering of ſwords,
"ſpears, and battle-axes, and the brightneſs of their
"armour, exhibited at once a glorious and an awful
"ſight! The engagement ſoon commenced, and, in
"leſs

A. C. "leſs than half an hour, it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh "the combatants from each other; even a father or a "brother could not be known, except by his voice, ſo "cloſely were they mingled together, and ſo covered "with blood, darting forth from different parts of the "body, and ſcattered on every ſide by the wind, which "was then ſharp and high. Separated as we were "from them, the ſpears, ſwords, and battle-axes of our "men were ſo entangled, by the quantity of blood and "clotted hair flying from the field of battle, that with "conſtant difficulty and labour only were they able to "diſengage them and to keep their ranks; nor was it "for ſome time after that their arms recovered their "former luſtre. The ſcenes of carnage, which ſpread "far and wide, were terrible beyond deſcription: ſo "much ſo, that the very ſight of them, to us ſpecta-"tors, appeared infinitely more diſtreſſing and terrifying "than they could poſſibly be to the parties engaged. "From ſun-riſe to the evening, did the battle continue, "with ſuch unremitting ſlaughter, that the returning "tide was ſtained red!"

This, it muſt be confeſſed, if not the deſcription of a battle, is, at leaſt, a lively one of its melancholy effects.

As ſoon as Malachie found himſelf in the peaceable poſſeſſion of a crown, which he ſo ill merited, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the public, and to endeavour to remove part of the ill impreſſion conceived againſt him, in conjunction with his ally Aodh O'Neill, he led a powerful army againſt Dublin, which he took by aſſault, and, after plundering the city, he ſet it on fire in different places, in order effectually to deſtroy that ungrateful and irreclaimable ſet of traitors, the remains of the Danes. Such of theſe, however, as eſcaped the ſword, had their revenge, by plundering and deſtroying the adjacent country, and putting to the ſword the peaceable inhabitants.

We

We have, in the laſt chapter, noticed the death of the gallant Cian, and the defeat of his army. Mahon, his ſurviving ſon, fled from the rage of the conquerors to the court of his uncles Donogh and Tiege. To reinſtate him in the dominions of his anceſtors, they marched a conſiderable army into Deſmond, which ſoon engaged with that commanded by the ſon of Dubhdabhoran. In this battle the latter was defeated; and, among the ſlain, was his ſon Cathal, and others of prime quality. By this victory the ſons of Brien ſecured a powerful ally in their nephew, and obliged his antagoniſt to deliver up hoſtages to them, and thus regained the ſovereignty of all Munſter. But *rara concordia fratrum!* this acquiſition of power was a ſource of freſh commotions. Tiege, as elder brother, inſiſted that he ought ſingly to reign; But Donogh, who was an able politician, and beſides, poſſeſſed of inſatiable ambition, would by no means admit of the arguments of his brother. Both parties had (as uſual) recourſe to arms: a pitched battle was fought, in which the prince of Aradh, of Ui-Cairbre, and other great chiefs, were ſlain, with little viſible advantage to either party. During theſe inteſtine commotions the ſon of Dubhdabhoran was not idle. He artfully recovered his hoſtages, and, at the ſame time, made a ſudden and unexpected incurſion into Carbery. Every thing gave way to his ſuperior power, and, with his own hand, he ſlew young Mahon in revenge for the death of his ſon Cathal. A.C. 1015

Domhnal prepared, with a conſiderable army, to invade Thomond, and this circumſtance had a ſpeedier effect to unite the ſons of Brien, than all the remonſtrances of the clergy, who, to do them juſtice, were, on all occaſions, the miniſters of peace. They became reconciled, and, uniting their armies, waited at Limeric the approach of the enemy. By mutual agreement a battle was fought, in which great bravery was diſplayed, and of courſe much blood ſpilt. At length the Eoganachts gave

A. C. gave way on every ſide; but not until they ſaw their chief and almoſt all their principal officers fall!

Malachie having reduced the Danes, marched an army into Leinſter, in order to chaſtiſe ſuch chiefs of that country, as had not paid him proper homage; and after
1016 his return, in conjunction with O'Neill, he invaded Conaught, returning with priſoners and hoſtages by the way of Kildare. Some petty princes of Ulſter he alſo chaſtiſed, and obliged them to give hoſtages for their future obedience.

1017 Donagan, a Leinſter prince, with many other chiefs, were cut off at an entertainment, by the prince of Oſſory; and ſoon after, to puniſh this prince for ſo infamous an act, Malachie entered his territories, laying waſte the country with fire and ſword, putting him to death with other conſpirators, and leading to Tara a large number of priſoners.

1018 During theſe various inteſtine broils, the Danes, collected from different parts, had again taken poſſeſſion of Dublin. It is certainly very ſurpriſing, and not eaſily to be accounted for, that in all the various defeats the Danes received, their enemies never once thought (except in the days of Malachie I.) to proſtrate the walls of their cities and ſtrong holds. They contented themſelves with plundering and ſetting fire to their houſes, after forcing their cities, and raiſing contributions only. By this means, and that of their extenſive and lucrative trade, and the ſupplies of foreigners, they ſoon became enabled, on every occaſion, to create freſh diſturbances, and ſeldom wanted the inclinations and opportunities of doing ſo.

1019 Thus Sitric, the Daniſh governor of Dublin, on ſome diſpute, had the eyes of Brien, ſon to Maolmordha, that degenerate king of Leinſter, ſtruck out; but his ſucceſſor took ample revenge on that inſidious crew, and ſo effectually humbled them, that they never after were able to emerge from that contempt and obſcurity, which their

their crimes and repeated acts of rebellion, had so long merited. A. C.

Malachie, now greatly advanced in years, saw, and blamed too late, his past conduct. To regain the monarchy, he sacrificed his faith, his honour, and whatever else was dear to man; and he now was convinced that he wanted the abilities requisite for so great a charge. The power of the common enemy, it is true, was annihilated; but he had neither force nor resolution, to break through party, faction, and intestine broils, with which the kingdom was over-run. As some atonement for these defects, he dedicated the remainder of his life to acts of piety and devotion. He founded St. Mary's abbey in Dublin; rebuilt and repaired such churches, monasteries, and colleges, as had through time, neglect, or the ravages of war, fallen into decay; and he made foundations in different colleges in the kingdom, for the maintenance and education of 300 poor students. In his last illness he was attended by the archbishop of Ardmach, with the abbots of Ionia and Saghire, and died September 2d, 1022, in the seventy-third year of his age, after a reign of eight years, three months, and twelve days. Malachie was the only monarch of Ireland, who survived the loss of the diadem; and the first, who again resumed that title, without a regular and formal election.

On the death of Malachie, none seemed to have better pretensions to the supreme command of Ireland, than the sons of Brien; but unnatural jealousies and dissensions amongst themselves, deprived the nation of so wished for a blessing. We have seen them, after the defeat of Domhnal, turn their arms against each other; and now, instead of uniting in the same cause, they proceed to similar excesses. Tiege was the elder brother, and great respect was always paid to seniority Donogh, at best, saw that he could be but second in command, whilst 1022

Tiege

A. C. Tiege lived; and, therefore, effected by treachery, what he could not by force. He ſent for the chief of Eile, in Ormond, who was particularly attached to him, and by large preſents, and a promiſe of making Saor-Fearan, of
1023 a palatinate, of his country, he engaged him to ſurpriſe his brother the following night, and carry him off priſoner to Ormond, where he was cut off ſoon after. Though Donogh affected great ſurpriſe at the ſudden diſappearance of Tiegè; yet both his hypocriſy and treachery were quickly ſeen into; for ſoon after, his nephew Turlogh fled from Munſter to Ferceall, the ſeat of his uncle, where he was honourably received. It is to be noticed that Tiege had married Mor, the daughter of O'Molloy, or Maolmuadh, prince of this territory, now known by the name of the King's County.

The Heremonians became alarmed at the riſing ſtate of Munſter; but not being able to agree among themſelves, as to a ſucceſſor to Malachie, Cuan O'Lochain, was by them appointed protector of the monarchy. This, to many antiquarians, ſeemed a new and unheard of employment; however, in the fourth century, we find the monarch Criomhthan appoint his couſin Conall protector of Ireland during his abſence. In the will of Niall the Grand, he expreſsly declares his ſon Maine, Ard Comairce Eirin Uile, or chief protector of all Ireland, during his abſence; and I have met with many inſtances in old MSS. of the title of governor of Tara, which implies the ſame thing, as it was the known reſidence of the Iriſh monarchs. To have a perſon appointed, in caſes of vacancies to an elective monarchy, in whom the executive power ſhould be lodged during the election, is a meaſure which no wiſe government could want; and this ſeems one of the laſt efforts to bring back the conſtitution to its original ſtate.

This meaſure, and ſome troubles in Munſter, ſuſpended for a time the ambitious views of Domhnal; but

Cuan

Cuan dying in the ſecond year of his adminiſtration, his A. C.
ſucceſſor Corcoran, ſeemed poſſeſſed of little or no power.
In 1027, ſays my MSS. * Donogh at the head of a
mighty army, invaded Meath, where he received hoſ-
tages from the Clan Colman. From thence he marched
to Dublin, and ſat before that city for ſome days, until
he received the homage of that people, and large con-
tributions. From Dublin he returned through Leinſter,
compelling both theſe and the Oſſorians to give him
tribute, and ſecurities for their future peaceable de-
meanour, and arrived at Ceann Corradh, loaden with
ſpoils and glory.

The next year Donogh entered into Conaught, re- 1028
ceiving the homages and the tributes uſually paid to
monarchs. Though he had not been called to that ho-
nour, nor even ſummoned the eſtates for that purpoſe.
On a complaint that the prince of Oſſory had killed his
own brother, Donogh again marched into his country,
and raiſed heavy contributions on the people.

He now commanded, not only in the two Munſters,
but alſo in Leinſter, Conaught, and Meath; and yet we
do not find, that he adopted any meaſures to have him-
ſelf legally declared monarch! However, the eſtates
of Leath-Mogha were convened at Caſhel, where ſeveral
wholeſome regulations were made, and ſevere laws 1038
paſſed againſt robbers, murderers, and profaners of the
Sabbath. At no one time ſince the days of St. Patrick,
(ſay our annaliſts †) were ſo many wiſe inſtitutions
framed.

Donogh, by his firſt wife, had eleven ſons, two of
whom only left male iſſue, namely, Lorcan and Mor-
rogh. His ſecond wife, by whom he had a ſon named
Domhnal, was named Driella, daughter to the great
earl Godwin, and ſiſter to Harold, afterwards king of

* Leabhar Oiris, &c. &c. † Annal. Innis-Falens. Tigernach, &c.

England.

A. C. England *. In 1050, say our annals, Harold fled for protection to his brother-in-law, by whom he was honourably received. He afterwards supplied him with a large fleet, and a considerable body of land forces, with which he made a successful landing in Britain †.

1053

The great power of Donogh was the source of much discontent to the provinces he had over-run. A powerful league was formed against him. His nephew Turlogh, who had already acquired great fame, the kings of Conaught and Leinster agreed to supply with a powerful army, in order to recover his inheritance. This had the appearance of justice, and they knew he had a considerable party to support him. At the head of these troops he invaded Munster, and gained many advantages over Donogh. In 1058, Turlogh, at the head of his aliens, gained a complete victory; but, in order to lessen the number of his enemies, Donogh agreed, the next spring, to exonerate the Conacians of all claim to tribute, provided they would withdraw their troops. In 1060, he made the same concessions to the people of Leinster; but the party of Turlogh was now too strong in Munster to be injured by these defections. Donogh made one effort more to expel his nephew the province. He collected all his forces, and at the foot of Ardagh mountain engaged the army of Turlogh, and received a complete overthrow. These repeated defeats, his advanced age, the murder of his brother, and the injuries he did his nephew, began to oppress him. Religion is the only resource for the guilty, and for the unfortunate; and this pointed out to Donogh to make all the atonement he could. To his nephew he peaceably surrendered the crown of Munster; and, as some expiation for fratricide, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he took on him a religious habit, in the monastery of St. Ste-

1054

1063

* Bruodin, &c. † Baker's Chronicle, Rapin, vol. i. p. 133.

phen,

phen, in which he remained to his death, which happened some years after, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. A. C.

The Bruodin Chronicle affirms, and tradition has it, that from this prince, Donogh, three noble families are descended, supposed to be of foreign extraction, namely, the Powers, the Plunkets, and the Eustaces. Dr. Keating, mistaking the relation, denies the fact. For he supposes, that it had been asserted that Donogh, after his arrival at Rome, had this issue; a thing, he justly observes, impossible in his advanced stage of life. It was by the princess Driella he had a son named Domhnan, "a renowned hero, say our historians, but of whose "posterity we have no perfect accounts." But it is reasonable to suppose, that as a cadet, on the retreat of his father, he repaired to Britain, where his posterity might assume those different names; and, as the Bruodins were the acknowledged hereditary historians of the O'Briens, great credit is due to their relations, especially in the article of genealogy. It has been asserted, that, on Donogh's dereliction of Ireland, he carried with him the crown, which he laid at the feet of the then pope, Alexander II. and this is offered as one proof, that the donation of Adrian IV. was valid. But, admitting that he surrendered his crown to the see of Rome, it is evident that it could not be the imperial crown, because he was neither elected nor crowned monarch. It could not be the crown of Leath-Mogha, as from unerring records it appears, that he peaceably surrendered that to his nephew! But let us for once suppose, what was not the case; namely, that Donogh made a formal tender of the crown of Ireland to this pope; could he or his successors, from this donation, found any kind of claim whatever to the sovereignty of Ireland? Could an exile, an usurper, as he undoubtedly was, transfer to any other,

A. C. a power which he had already ſurrendered to the legal proprietor? But, for argument ſake, let us admit him to be acknowledged as monarch in the fulleſt ſenſe of the word, and that, in this character, he made a formal ſurrender of his crown and dignity to this pope, or to any other prince; ſtill, by the laws of Ireland, the moment of his death put a period to his delegation. Of the truth of this we are furniſhed with a proof, ſo late as the reign of Elizabeth.

John O'Neill was queſtioned, for refuſing the title of earl of Tirone, granted to his father and his ſucceſſors; and he anſwered, "that no act of his father, except confirmed by the eſtates of Ulſter, could be "binding on his ſucceſſors. That the title of O'Neill "was to him ſuperior to any other, and that only he "would take *."

* Camden Annal. Rer. Angl. et Hib. Regn. Eliz. p. 78.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. III.

Of Dermod, nominal monarch, and his exploits—of Turlogh II. monarch—receives hoſtages from different provinces, but is defeated in Ulſter—appoints his ſon governor of Dublin, and prevents commotions in Conaught—his tranſactions with ſome Ulſter princes—death and character—Mortogh, king of Leath-Mogha, aſſumes the title of monarch—receives the ſubmiſſions of ſome provinces—wars with Ulſter—bad conduct of his brother—are reconciled—a continuation of his wars—a reconciliation between him and the Ultonians—further accounts of the exploits of Mortogh—dedicates the city of Caſhell to the church—death of this prince, and his great antagoniſt Domhnal, prince of Tyrconnel.

SINCE the death of Brien Boirumhe, we have ſeen how flagrantly the conſtitution was violated! No convention of the eſtates at Tara, no election of a monarch, no generous attempt whatever to reſtore dignity and weight to the national laws! Malachie was contented to be declared monarch by the eſtates of Meath only; and Donogh, conſcious of his crimes, dared not to meet a national aſſembly. By this means every feudatory prince formed an independent intereſt, and it was not his wiſh to be eclipſed by another. In this confuſion, and to preſerve a conſiſtency in the hiſtory, the antiquarians have conſidered the prince of the greateſt power, as the nominal monarch of the day. In this light ſome have viewed Dermod, king of Leinſter *, becauſe, in conjunction with the king of Conaught, he reduced

* Grat. Luc. p. 81. Ogygia, p. 437.

A. C. 1064 the power of Munſter, and obliged Donogh to relinquiſh that crown to the lawful heir. He after this aſſiſted in cruſhing a rebellion, raiſed by Murchad, the ſon of Donogh. He compelled the king of Conaught to give him hoſtages; and the people of Meath and Dublin paid him tribute. The continuator of the Annals of Tigernach affirms, that the Welſh and the Hebrides, were his tributaries alſo. In the beginning of February 1072, he again entered Meath, but was defeated on the 7th of ſaid month, by Connor, the ſon of Malachie, king of that province, with great ſlaughter, in the bloody battle of Odhbha, he himſelf being amongſt the ſlain.

Though Turlogh the ſon of Tiege, ſon to the immortal Brien, has been placed as *nominal* monarch, after his uncle; yet, as it appears evidently, that to the king of Leinſter he owed his elevation, and that, during his reign, this prince's power and military glory far eclipſed that of Turlogh, I have placed him next in order to Donogh. But on his death, in 1072, Turlogh, certainly was the moſt potent prince in Ireland, and had the faireſt claim to that title.

1072 From this time we date Turlogh, Righ go Freaſabhra, or nominal monarch of Ireland; and this will reconcile the accounts of antiquarians, with reſpect to the length of his reign; ſome making it twenty-two years, others allowing him but fourteen*. For thoſe who have placed him in the WHITE LIST, immediately on the reſignation of his uncle, are right in allowing him a reign of twenty-two years; but thoſe who have arranged him after the above Dermod, cannot be cenſured for cutting off eight years from this period. The firſt public act of Turlogh, was to raiſe the power of Munſter, with which he marched into Leinſter, receiving homage, and taking hoſtages from the different princes and chiefs. His

* Grat. Luc. p. 82.

army

army halted at Kilmainhim, and here the Daniſh chiefs and magiſtrates waited upon him in form; and, as the other tributary princes did, they kneeled, and each put his hands into thoſe of Turlogh, which implied, that their power was for the future to be employed by him. After this he entered the city with great ſplendor; the gates being thrown open, the keys were preſented to him, and he was acknowledged as their ſovereign. He confirmed the former governor and magiſtrates in ther different poſts; and from thence proceeded to Meath, to receive hoſtages and puniſh Murrogh O'Mealſachlin, for the inhuman murder of his brother Connor, king of that territory. After this, he returned to his palace of Cin-Corradh, where he was received as king of Leath-Mogha, in the moſt extenſive meaning of the word. A. C. 1073

In 1075, he marched an army into Conaught, and received homage and hoſtages from Roderic O'Connor, king of the province, from O'Rourk, prince of Breffni, from O'Reily, O'Kelly, Mac Dermod, and others. From thence he proceeded to Ulſter on the ſame errand; but his troops were ſeverely handled by the Ulconians. However, underſtanding that Godfrey, governor of Dublin, gave early intelligence to the king of Ulſter of his deſigns, and even privately aſſiſted him, on his return he baniſhed him the kingdom, and appointed his own ſon Mortogh, governor of Dublin, and the territory of Fingal, in his ſtead. The Conadians, encouraged by the checks which Turlogh received in Ulſter, were preparing to ſhake off the yoke; but he, receiving timely information of it, ſuddenly invaded that province, ſurpriſed, and made a priſoner of king Roderic, who, on the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, and the receiving of freſh hoſtages for his future good behaviour, he releaſed from his captivity. 1076

In 1079, Dunlevy, king of Uladh, applied to Turlogh for ſuccours, to reinſtate him in his dominions, from 1079

A. C. from which he had been expelled. He ſupplied him with a good body of men, by whoſe aſſiſtance the malcontents were defeated. This ſame year he ſent his ſon Dermod into Wales, with a powerful navy, who laid waſte the country, and returned with conſiderable ſpoils. O'Mealſachlin, attended by the archbiſhop of Caſhel, in 1080, waited on Turlogh at his palace in Limeric (ſince then a monaſtery, and now the cathedral church) and got his pardon for the murder of his brother, and was received into favour. In 1082, Dunlevy, king of Uladh, with his principal nobility, waited on Turlogh in Limeric, to thank him for the recovery of his dominions, and to do him homage as his chief. Turlogh diſmiſſed them with great marks of royal munificence; there being diſtributed amongſt them, by his orders, a thouſand cows, a hundred and twenty cloaks of different colours, according to the quality of the people, forty ounces of gold, with ſwords and bucklers, &c. In 1084, being on a royal tour, O'Rourk made a ſudden irruption into Thomond, burned and plundered Killaloe, Tuam-Greine, Seariff, and Magh-Neo (then flouriſhing cities on the banks of the Shannon, now ſcarce retaining the traces of villages!) and returned to Breffni loaded with ſpoils; but Turlogh had his revenge, for the forces of O'Rourk were cut off, and himſelf ſlain, ſoon after, by the troops of Munſter.

This generous and intrepid prince had long laboured under a chronic diſorder, which at length deprived him of life at Cin-Corradh, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, in the month of July, and year after Chriſt 1086. He has been placed high in the liſt of fame by our writers, not ſo much for his ſucceſs and intrepidity in war (in which he appears to have been very ſucceſsful) as for his juſtice, his humanity, his piety, and love of his country. His couſin Murchad, in the ſecond year of his reign, raiſed a formidable rebellion in Thomond,

which,

which, with great loſs of blood only was ſuppreſſed, and A. C.
he obliged to take refuge in Conaught. In ſome years after, he returned, and was the cauſe of freſh outrages, yet the only puniſhment inflicted by Turlogh, was to aſſign him ample poſſeſſions in Cuonagh and Aharla, in the county of Limeric, which his poſterity enjoyed for many generations. He ſhewed the ſame humanity to other delinquents, and framed a ſet of laws, much wanting and highly applauded in theſe days. The fame of the ſplendor, power, and juſtice of this prince, was not confined to Ireland. St. Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury addreſſed a letter "To the magnificent Turlogh, "king of Ireland;" in which he praiſes God for his bleſſings to the Iriſh nation, in granting them a prince of his piety, moderation, and equity, to rule them *.

Turlogh had by his queen Saibh, daughter to the king of Deſmond, four ſons; Tiege, who died ſoon after his father, at Cin-Corradh; Mortogh, who was his immediate ſucceſſor; Dermod who ſucceeded him; and Donogh, ſlain in Meath.

Immediately after the death of Turlogh, his ſon Mortogh was proclaimed king of Leath-Mogha, and is ranked next among the monarchs of Ireland. But to inſure his 1086
power we find the firſt public acts of his reign, were to baniſh his brother Dermod, and to lead an army into Leinſter, to receive the homage of that people. Godfrey, the former governor of Dublin, in whoſe place Mortogh had been placed by his father, had reſumed the command of that city in his abſence; but hearing he was ſo near, again fled beyond ſea, and Mortogh appointed his eldeſt ſon, Domhnal, to that charge.

Having thus gained the ſovereignty of Leinſter and Meath, he entered Ulſter in an hoſtile manner, and compelled the petty chiefs to pay him tribute; but Domhnal,

* Uſſer. Epiſt. Hib. Syllog. Ep. xxvii.

prince

A. C. prince of Tyrconnel, being a warlike and enterprising
1087 prince, embraced this opportunity, to cauſe a diverſion in Munſter, being invited ſo to do by Dermod, brother to Mortogh. His army proceeded through Conaught, which country paid him homage. The palace of Cin-Corradh he laid in aſhes; and amongſt his priſoners, were 150 of Mortogh's houſhold troops, with three of their principal commanders; namely, the ſons of O'Kennedy, O'Hogan, and O'Linſhe. Limeric underwent the ſame fate with Cin-Corradh, as did other towns of leſs
1089 note; and Domhnal returned to Ulſter, loaded with trophies and ſpoils.

If laying waſte a country, and impoveriſhing its miſerable, though innocent inhabitants, may be called ſatisfaction, Mortogh had this; for he forcibly entered Ulſter, laying waſte the country, deſtroying its towns, and levelling the palace of Aghle with the duſt. His brother Dermod was a very formidable enemy, on account of the
1090 party he had in Munſter. We ſee the thirſt of ambition and revenge ſuperſede every other conſideration in him; and with aſtoniſhment we behold this prince mean enough to accept the command of the Conaught navy, and baſe enough to convert that force to the ruin of his own country. For with it he ſcoured the coaſts of Munſter, making ſudden landings in different places, and plundering the country. Some time after, the archbiſhops of Armagh and Munſter, with ſeveral other dignitaries, interpoſed their good offices, by which means the brothers became reconciled. Mortogh paſſed a general act of
1093 amneſty for all paſt offences whatever; and Dermod ſolemnly ſwore in the preſence of the clergy, "*by the "ſtaff of St. Patrick, and by all the holy relics of Ireland,*" to behave as a dutiful brother and ſubject, for the remainder of his life. In 1094, Mortogh again invaded Leinſter and Meath; defeated the forces of O'Connor Failge, or Falia, and made him priſoner. He after this attacked the

the Meathians, and ſlew Donald O'Maolſeachlin, king of Tara, whoſe territories he afterwards divided between his two brothers. A. C.

Next year he encamped in the centre of Conaught for above two months; and the Shannon was covered by his fleets, with which he ſubjected all the neighbouring ſtates; but Domhnal was his moſt formidable enemy, yet moſtly on the defenſive. Though Mortogh had three ſeveral times invaded Ulſter, and, though with a numerous and well-appointed navy, his land operations were always ſeconded, yet the advantages he gained were very inadequate to his loſſes and expences. Frequently the clergy interpoſed their good offices, and ſtrove to reconcile theſe contending chiefs; but their amity was neither laſting nor ſincere. In 1099, with a mighty army, Mortogh invaded Ulſter, and was met on the plains of Muirtheimhne, in the county of Down, (ſo memorable for the defeat and death of the famous Cucullin, ſome time before the incarnation) by Domhnal, with the whole power of Ulſter. The armies on both ſides were arranged, waiting for the ſignal to engage, when, happily, the ſucceſſors of St. Patrick and St. Ailbe, (i. e. the archbiſhops of Ardmagh and Caſhell) with ſeveral other dignitaries; threw themſelves between them, and by their exhortations, their prayers, and their entreaties, a ſolid and laſting peace was made. By this peace, Domhnal was acknowledged as king of Leth-Cuin, ſays Giolla-Moduda, a celebrated antiquarian, and contemporary; and Mortogh, king of Leath-Mogha; but to me it is clear, that this laſt reſerved to himſelf the nominal title of Ard-Righ, or monarch. By his bravery, conduct, and prudence, Mortogh became highly eſteemed by the neighbouring ſtates, who ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate him on his victories. St. Anſelm, ſucceſſor to Lanfranc, in the ſee of Canterbury, ſome time after his conſecration, addreſſed his 1095 1099

letter

A. C. letter "To Mortogh, the magnificent king of Ireland," in which he pays high compliments to his prudence, fortitude, and juſtice *. Some time after, the eſtates of Man, and the adjacent iſles, ſent ambaſſadors to this prince, requeſting he would grant them an able and prudent governor to rule them, until their king came of age †. In the ſaid chronicle it is aſſerted, that Magnus, king of Norway and Man, ſome time after ſent ambaſſadors to Mortogh, requiring, as a mark of vaſſalage, that he ſhould publicly, on Chriſtmas-day, carry his ſhoes on his ſhoulders, which the other meanly complied with, rather than expoſe his country to freſh inſults; and yet, nevertheleſs, Magnus, with a mighty fleet, invaded the country, being allured ſo to do, from the report of its great fertility and riches. But Dr. Warner, (as would every other man of ſenſe), thinks it impoſſible, that a prince of Mortogh's high blood could ever be brought to ſubmit to ſuch meanneſs; and the Bruodin Chronicle puts it beyond queſtion. For that valuable record tells us, that a Daniſh prince did ſend ſuch a meſſage to Mortogh, who ordered, in the preſence of his court, their ears to be cut off, and to inform their maſter, that ſuch was his anſwer to ſo inſolent a demand. The barbarian, highly incenſed, prepared with a large fleet and a conſiderable body of land forces to invade Ireland; but Mortogh being informed of the place of their intended deſcent, waited with a ſelect body of troops, which ſoon attacked, cut to pieces, or otherwiſe diſperſed this formidable banditti ‡. This happened in the year 1101.

After this reconciliation and the above defeat, theſe rival princes lived in peace and harmony, and ſeemed greatly ſtruck with the ravages and diſtreſſes their wild ambition had involved the nation in. Both became great

* Uſher. Epiſt. Hibern. Syllog. Ep. xxxvi. † Camden. Brit. ſub. fin.
‡ De Regibus Hibern. p. 933.

penitents,

penitents, and laboured by acts of piety and charity to obliterate their former crimes. In 1101, Mortogh convened the estates of Munster at Cashell, with all the bishops of Leath-Mogha; and he there, WITH THEIR CONSENT, alienated for ever that city from the crown of Munster, dedicating it to God, to St. Patrick, and St. Ailbe, and affixing it to the diocess of Cashell. Mortogh being in a declining state of health, in 1116 solemnly renounced the crown of Munster, in favour of his brother Dermod, and retired to the monastery of St. Carthagh at Lismore, where he lived with great piety and austerity, and died the 3d of March, 1119, and was buried with great funeral pomp at Killaloe. In like manner, some time before his death, Domhnal entered the monastery of St. Columba, at Derry, where he died A. C. 1121, in his seventy-third year. Colgan gives him a very high character, both for the graces of his mind and body, as well as for his justice, liberality, and humanity. Mortogh had three sons—Domhnal, who he appointed governor of Dublin, and who, in 1118, embraced a monastic life; Mahon, who was ancestor to the Mac Mahons of Corca-Bhaiscorgin; and Kennedy, of whom no further mention is made. A. C.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. IV.

Council of Fiadh-Ængusa—ſtate of the church of Ireland, its privileges, and the great power of its metropolitans—reformations wanting in it—the firſt inſtance, ſince the days of Patrick, of a legate, with powers from Rome, preſiding at a council of Iriſh biſhops—acts of this council, with a remarkable prayer—writers of the eleventh century.

WE have given a remarkable inſtance of the piety and munificence of Mortogh, in his prevailing on the eſtates of Munſter to unite with him in conveying for ever to the church of Caſhell that ancient city, the royal reſidence of the Munſter kings for ſo many centuries, and which was ſo called from Cios-Oi, *the place of tribute*, as here the regal revenues were paid in, every May and November. Beſides this, in 1118, Mortogh, by his royal proclamation, convened a ſynod of the clergy, to meet at Fiadh-Ængusa, or Aongus's Grove, in Meath. In this ſynod, which continued, by adjournment, for ſome years, many uſeful reforms were made in the church of Ireland. For, firſt, it is certain, that biſhops were multiplied amongſt us at the will of the metropolitan, and often without any fixt places of reſidence; ſecondly, the power of nominating biſhops to certain dioceſes, was reſerved to certain royal and noble families in the different parts of the kingdom, and to them only; thirdly, though the church of Ireland was in exact conformity with that of Rome, in the doctrines of faith, and ſubmitted to her deciſions in many inſtances of diſcipline, as in the tonſure, the celebrating

of

of Eaſter, &c. yet it does not appear, that the popes ever A. C.
enjoyed any direct power or authority whatever over that church. We have ſeen briefs and letters directed to the Iriſh biſhops; but I cannot find that they deemed themſelves ſchiſmatics, when they thought fit to refuſe the deciſions of Rome, as they did for more than two centuries with reſpect to the feaſt of Eaſter; fourthly, in ſome inſtances biſhops have been married men; but no proofs whatever can be produced that the popes nominated to biſhoprics amongſt us; and, fifthly, it appears evidently, that the Iriſh biſhops enjoyed no excluſive privileges whatever; though Columba formerly ſtrongly contented for the church's being an aſylum. On the contrary, the Iriſh clergy were ſubject to temporal laws, and temporal taxations. They were obliged in perſon to attend the royal ſtandard; and I take it for granted, that, as foedal lords, they were obliged to bring a certain quota of troops into the field alſo. Yet, with all this, in no part of the world were the clergy more reſpected; but to the exemplary lives they led, they owed this. Synods and councils they held from time to time, to correct abuſes in the church, but the archbiſhop of Ardmagh conſtantly preſided as patriarch, and their deciſions were for near two centuries received in England, and, until the twelfth century, in Scotland.

Such, in miniature, was the ſtate of the Iriſh church and its privileges, which I have with no ſmall labour and reading extracted from our moſt authentic records, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil; and which I judged highly neceſſary to be laid before the reader, the better to underſtand the ſubſequent parts of our hiſtory. From this account it will appear, that reformations were wanting in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

The Iriſh archbiſhops, particularly him of Ardmagh, from the days of St. Patrick, aſſumed a power of conſecrating biſhops, not only for Ireland, but for the neighbouring

A. C. neighbouring ſtates. The Venerable Bede, in different parts of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Britain, is as clear in this as words can expreſs it, with reſpect to the Saxons. It is alſo evident that they conſecrated biſhops for the miſſions in France, Germany, &c. and in Scotland, until the end of the twelfth century, the Iriſh conſecration only was known. By this power they increaſed the number of biſhops at home at pleaſure; but whatever neceſſity there might be for it formerly, it now became a burden to the ſtate, and demanded an abridgement. It was alſo uſeful to religion and good diſcipline, that the right of nominating to biſhoprics ſhould be altered, ſince, by the mode in uſe, the hierarchy was moſtly confined to certain ſepts in the different parts of the kingdom, and the reſpect due to religion ſeemed to require a relaxation of the temporal laws with reſpect to the clergy. Celſus, or Celeſtin, was, at this time, the ſucceſſor to St. Patrick, a prelate of great erudition, of unfeigned piety, and of a moſt exemplary life. Maol Joſa O'Duncen was archbiſhop of Munſter, of a moſt edifying life and converſation; and almoſt all the biſhops were highly eminent for their ſanctity and learning.

Under ſuch a prince as Mortogh, and influenced by ſuch prelates as the above, great matters were expected, and much good was done. Pope Paſcal II. had frequently importuned Murtogh to call a national council; and he appointed Gilbert of Limeric his legate, to preſide in it. It is the firſt inſtance we read of, ſince the days of St. Patrick, of a legate from Rome preſiding over a council of Iriſh biſhops; and this, with the preſence of the monarch and chiefs of the land, brought a great conflux of the clergy. At this council were aſſembled no leſs a number than fifty biſhops, fifteen mitred abbots, three hundred and ſixty prieſts, and near three thouſand regulars. As matters of much importance were to be here debated, great caution, time, and deliberation

deliberation were neceſſary. From ancient writers calling the place of meeting ſometimes Fiadh-Ænguſa, at other times Uiſneach, and Rath-Breſail, later ones have imagined that there were three different councils, and called at different places; but a knowledge of ancient topography will explain this. A. C.

Uiſneach was in the centre of Meath, and here, in the days of Druidiſm, was the grand temple of Bel. It was erected in the middle of a large grove, as all Druid houſes were: this grove was called Fiadh-Ænguſa, and a fort adjoining it, called Rath-Breſail. In this place the monarch, the princes, and the clergy met; and, amongſt other regulations, the following were unanimouſly agreed and ſubſcribed to: 1. The clergy were, for the future, to be exempt from public taxations and temporal laws; and, whatever they contributed towards the ſupport of the ſtate, was to be by way of *free gift*. 2. The archbiſhops reſigned the right they derived from St. Magonius, the patrician, or (as he is generally called) St. Patrick, of conſecrating biſhops at pleaſure. 3. The number of biſhops in Ireland, for the time to come, was to be limited to twenty-eight, but without encroaching on the rights and privileges of the preſent biſhops. Of theſe, twelve were to be under the ſee of Leth-Cuin, or Ardmagh, twelve under that of Leath-Mogha or Caſhell, and two in Meath; theſe laſt at the appointment of the monarch. 4. The rights in ſpirituals, over all Ireland, was confirmed to the ſee of Leth-Cuin, and the archbiſhop of Caſhell preſided over Leath-Mogha. A ſurvey of the church-lands was taken; and the lands and extent of juriſdiction of the future biſhops was ſettled with great preciſion. We find no mention made of the archbiſhops of Leinſter or Conaught in this celebrated council.

After ſubſcribing to theſe, and many other regulations of leſs conſequence, the following prayer was added: "The

A. C. "The bleſſing of the Almighty, and of St. Peter, and St. "Patrick, and of the repreſenter of St. Peter's ſucceſ- "ſor, the legate Giolla Aſpuig, biſhop of Lomeneach, "of Ceallach, St. Patrick's ſucceſſor, of Maol-Joſa Mac "Ainmhire, archbiſhop of Leath-Mogha, and of all "the biſhops, nobles, and clergy in this holy ſynod of "Rath-Breſail, aſſembled, light upon, and remain with "all who ſhall approve, ratify, and obſerve theſe ordi- "nances."

O'Maolconry was a celebrated poet and antiquarian of the eleventh century. We have yet preſerved a chronological poem of his, beginning with the monarch Logaire, A. C. 428, and ending in the year 1014.

An anonymous writer of the hiſtory of the archbiſhops of Munſter, and church of Caſhell, is placed by Colgan in this century, as it is brought down no lower than the year 1017 *.

The author of the *Anala, ar Chogaibh Eirion*, who I take for granted to be the famous antiquarian Mac Liag, lived alſo in the eleventh age; becauſe he cloſes his work with the abdication of Donogh, A. C. 1064; and yet, as hiſtoriographer to the immortal Brien, we ſhould be apt to conclude that he could not live ſo long; and that the continuation of this work, after the death of Brien, muſt be by ſome other hand.

Dubdaleth, archbiſhop of Ardmagh, wrote the annals of Ireland to 1021; as alſo the hiſtory of his predeceſſors in that ſee, to his own times †.

The celebrated Marianus Scotus flouriſhed in this century, and was as eminent for his uncommon auſterity and piety, as for his great erudition and knowledge of the ſacred writings. Of all his numerous works, his Chronicon Univerſale holds the firſt place in public eſtimation. Sigebert, of Gemblours, ſays of him ‡, "That, without

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 5. c. iv. † Trias Thaumat. p. 298. col. ii.
‡ Writers of Ireland, fol. 66.

"compariſon,

" compariſon, he was the moſt learned man of his age; A. C.
" an excellent hiſtorian, a famous mathematician, and
" a ſolid divine." The writer of a Chronicle in the Cotton Library, carried from the incarnation to the year 1181, under the year 1028, ſays, " This year Marianus " Scotus, the Iriſh chronographer, was born, who wrote " the *Chronicle of Chronicles* *." Walſh ſeems guilty of a great anachroniſm in declaring the preſent Marianus to be the preceptor to Adrian IV. for in 1052 he embraced the monaſtic life, and in 1056 retired to Germany, where he lived moſtly a recluſe to his death, which happened in 1088; whereas Adrian was advanced to the papacy in 1154, ſixty-eight years after the death of Marianus †!

Gilda Coamhain is placed by moſt writers in the preſent age; but, I think, with great impropriety; for he brings his hiſtory no further than the reign of Loagaire, which work Gilda Moduda reſumed, and carried on to the death of Malachie II. Tigernach O'Braoin, ſucceſſor to St. Ciaran, or abbot of Cluan-Mac-Nois, and who died in the year 1088, wrote a chronicle from the earlieſt period, which he brought down to his own times. This work is highly eſteemed; and an anonymous writer has carried it on to the ſeventeenth century.

Maol Joſa O'Brolchain, a religious of great reputation for ſanctity and letters, is ſaid to be the author of many valuable pieces; but their titles are not ſpecified. The Annals of Dunegal declare him to be among the firſt doctors and writers of Ireland.

Errard, ſecretary to Malachie, king of Meath, is ſaid by Colgan to have been a profound antiquarian, and the author of ſome antiquities; and Maol-Joſa O'Stuir is mentioned as an excellent philoſopher, and to have wrote ſome phyſical tracts.

* De Britan. Eccleſ. Prim. p. 735.
† Proſpect of Ireland, p. 448.

A. C.

CHAP. V.

Turlogh nominal monarch—character of Connor O'Brien—wars of theſe princes—aſſembly of Tailteau—Turlogh invades Munſter by ſea and land—Connor unites his brothers, and, in his turn, invades Conaught—returns the next year, and brings immenſe ſpoils from Ulſter and Conaught—death and character of Connor O'Brien—Turlogh O'Brien proclaimed king of Munſter—policy of Turlogh, the monarch, in dividing Munſter—invades that province, and is defeated—returns the next year—fatal battle of Mon-Moir—Turlogh reſigns the crown of Munſter, and retires to the North—is reſtored to his crown by the king of Ulſter—death and character of Turlogh O'Connor—a moral reflection.

TURLOGH, the ſon of Roderic O'Connor, king of Conaught, is placed next on the liſt as *nominal monarch* of Ireland. Sir James Ware, and others *, think, that the factious parties in the land were ſo counterpoiſed, that, for ſeventeen years after the death of Morrogh, no prince was powerful enough to aſſume this title; yet it was agreed that Turlogh was ſo ſaluted (at leaſt by his own ſubjects) immediately after Morrogh.

1119

He was ſon to Roderic, king of Conaught, and twenty-third in deſcent from Eochaidh Moighmheodin, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century, and the firſt of this branch of the Heremonian line, who, in that long interval, from kings of Conaught had aſſumed the title of monarch. In times of faction and turbulence, like the

* Ogygia, p. 439.

preſent,

preſent, where the eſtates were not convened to proceed to a regular election, or the parliament of Tara aſſembled to correct national abuſes, every thing was determined by the ſword. Connor O'Brien, called Slaparſalach, or of the Spattered Robe, the ſon of Dermod, laſt king of Leath-Mogha, and nephew to Mortogh the Great, ſucceeded his father, A. D. 1120, and poſſeſſed all thoſe qualifications which are generally ſuppoſed to conſtitute the hero. He was as ambitious for obtaining the monarchy as Turlogh, and as little ſcrupulous as to the ways of attaining it. Turlogh may be with propriety ſtyled king of Leth-Cuin, as he was the moſt powerful chief in that diſtrict, and, for the ſame reaſon, may Connor be called king of Leath-Mogha. A. C.

Two powerful princes, of oppoſite intereſts, muſt neceſſarily become enemies, and ſuch were theſe. Dermod, the father of Connor, ſome time before his death, invaded Conaught, and laid the country under military execution; and this compliment Turlogh returned the ſecond year of Connor's reign by marching his army to Caſhell and Liſmore, &c. and ſorely diſtreſſing the people; but the Mamonians attacked them on their retreat, near Ardfinan, diſperſing their army with great ſlaughter of very many of its chiefs, among whom were O'Heyne, O'Flaherty O'Lorcan, &c. However, early in November, we find Turlogh enter Munſter at the head of a more powerful army than the laſt. He remained encamped near Birr, until the end of the January following. But though his troops remained inactive, yet was not he nor his miniſters. During this interval he was labouring to diſunite the Eugenians from the Dalgais, by repreſenting how long their family had been deprived of their right of ſucceſſion to the Munſter crown. A hint of this kind was enough to blow up the coals of diſſenſion. Donogh Mac Carthy, and other Eugenian princes, immediately entered into private 1121

A. C. treaty with Turlogh. But this was not enough; the tribe of Dalgais, connected and united, were ſtill a formidable body; and even among theſe, parties muſt be formed. When Connor was proclaimed king of Leath-Mogha, his next brother, Turlogh, was declared king of Thomond. The king of Conaught, ſpirited up Tiege Gle O'Brien, a younger brother, who ſeized on him by ſurpriſe, had him conveyed to the Conaught camp, and thereupon uſurped himſelf the title of king of Thomond. Thus did Turlogh O'Connor, by his negociations, without the loſs of a man, more effectually diſtreſs his antagoniſt than he would have done by ſeveral battles. The Dalgais were by this means divided, and by ſupporting Donogh Mac Carthy againſt his elder brother Cormoc, he ſowed ſimilar diſſenſions among the Eugenians.

1122 Having cut out work enough for the Mamonians at home, in the middle of February he decamped from Birr, and obliged the Lagenians, Meathians, and people
1111 of Dublin to deliver up hoſtages to him. After this he made great preparations, both by ſea and land, to invade Ulſter, and oblige that gallant race of people to
1123 acknowledge his ſway. In the ſpring of the following year he entered that province, at the head of a gallant and well appointed army, whoſe operations were ſeconded by a fleet of a hundred and ninety ſhips. With theſe he defeated the different armies and navies that every where oppoſed him. He ſpoiled Tir-One and Tir-Connel, and compelled the chiefs of theſe two great houſes, and thoſe of Dal-Airidhe, &c. to ſubmit to his power and acknowledge his ſway.

1126 In July, 1126, the great aſſembly at Tailtean, in Meath, was opened for the firſt time for near a century. It generally laſted a month, beginning fifteen days before the firſt of Auguſt, and ending the fifteenth of that month. In this meeting, horſe-races, charioteering, tournaments,

naments, and feats of arms, hurling, and all the gymnaſtic exerciſes, were exhibited with great ſplendor. Days were ſet apart for theſe different amuſements; rewards were appointed for the victors; and theſe ſports were reſorted to from different parts of Europe. From Tailte, daughter to Maghmor, a Spaniſh prince, were they called, by Lughaidh, monarch of Ireland, who, to her memory, and in gratitude for the care ſhe took in his education, inſtituted them; and from this prince the month of Auguſt was called Lughnas, (Lunas) from which the Engliſh adopted the name of Lammas for the firſt of Auguſt. A. C.

In the year 1127 Turlogh collected all the power of Leth-Cuin to fall upon Munſter. He croſſed the Shannon at Athlone, and marched, without the leaſt interruption, as far as Cork. At the ſame time his navy, conſiſting of an hundred and fifty ſhips, were directed to ravage the coaſts to draw off the attention of the enemy. Here he was joined by Donogh Mac Carthy, and other Eugenian princes, and then depoſed Cormoc, the elder brother, and cauſed Donogh to be proclaimed king of Deſmond. Thus Turlogh made Tiege O'Brien king of Thomond, and Donogh Mac Carthy king of South Munſter, or Deſmond; by which means the power of Connor, king of the entire province, was much ſtreightened. But Connor having reconciled his contending brothers, and ſtrengthened his own intereſt, marched his army into Deſmond, where O'Sullivan, O'Donoghoe, O'Mahony, O'Keefe, O'Moriarty, O'Felan, and other Eugenian chiefs, with their forces, joined him. In the interim Cormoc had retired to the monaſtery of Liſmore, from which he was drawn forth, and a ſecond time ſaluted king of Deſmond, whilſt Donogh and his party were baniſhed to Conaught. To avenge this inſult, Turlogh directed his navy to ſcour the coaſts of Munſter; in which

1127

1128

A. C. which expedition they did great miſchief to the poor expoſed borderers, and to the country.

Connor having ſolidly eſtabliſhed his authority at home, compelled the Lagenians to return to their duty, and being once more actual king of Leath-Mogha, with a mighty army he invaded Conaught. Near Athlone he
1132 was oppoſed by the collected forces of Turlogh. A bloody engagement enſued, in which the Conacians were routed with conſiderable ſlaughter. Among the ſlain were O'Flaherty, and many other perſons of prime quality; at the ſame time his fleet from Cineoradh ſcoured the adjoining coaſts, and committed great depredations, whilſt, with another from Cork, he plundered the ſea coaſts of Conaught.

1133 The next year he again invaded Conaught, defeated the forces of Turlogh, and ſlew Cathal O'Connor, preſumptive heir to the crown, O'Floïn, and other chiefs of eminence. In 1134, he attacked Mac Murcha, king of Leinſter, who favoured the party of his antagoniſt,
1134 and gave a moſt complete defeat to his army. He now marched his victorious troops into Conaught, and determined to ſubdue Turlogh, or periſh in the attempt; but the archbiſhop and clergy of Conaught interpoſing their good offices, a peace was concluded, by which Connor was acknowledged as king of Leath-Mogha, and Turlogh king of Leth-Cuin, and, I ſuppoſe, with the title of monarch. But Connor, we find, did not, as uſual, diſmiſs his auxiliaries. He marched at their head into Ulſter, carrying on a war rather of depredation than conqueſt. The people of Tyrone, in this conſternation, had their plate and treaſures depoſited in the church of Derry, and other ſacred edifices, as places of the greateſt ſafety; and theſe Connor cauſed to be ſeized. In like manner the treaſures of Tyrconnel, lodged in the cathedral of Raphoe, &c. were carried off. In Meath he committed the ſame ſacrilegious exceſſes, poſſeſſing

poſſeſſing himſelf of all the treaſuers of the province, A. C.
laid up in the church of Clonard; then croſſing the Shannon, conveyed to Cin-Corradh whatever he found of public property, in the abbies of Conga, Eithne, Roſcommon, &c. We ſhall paſs by other incidents of leſs moment to his death, which happened in November 1142, to which time he preſerved all the rights and 1142.
powers which had ever been annexed to the ſovereignty of Leath-Mogha, and thoſe in as ample a manner as had been poſſeſſed by any of his anceſtors. He was interred in the cathedral of Killaloe.

Connor was a prince of invincible courage and a great politician, which made him always find certain reſources, when his affairs ſeemed moſt deſperate. He had been alſo celebrated for his munificence, his hoſpitality, and piety. He was ſo fond of building and improving, that he got the ſurname of Catharach, or of the Cities, on account of the many he founded and improved; likewiſe that of Slaparſalach, or of the Dirty Robe, as his attention to theſe works was ſo great, as often to have his robes ſpattered with the mortar. He is ſaid to have been the founder of many churches and monaſteries, but I cannot find their particular names ſpecified. It is much more probable, that he rather repaired and reſtored ſuch as had fallen to ruin. His piety and munificence in theſe articles, were not entirely domeſtic; ſince it is acknowledged, in the chronicle of the Iriſh abbey of St. Peter's, at Ratiſbon, that he it was who reſtored and repaired this abbey from its foundation; and to prove in how maſterly a manner it was done, it is added—"The erecting ſo ſpacious a cloiſter, of ſuch famous workmanſhip, "abounding with ſtately turrets, walls, pillars, and "vaults, ſo expeditiouſly conſtructed, muſt be wholly attributed to the immenſe ſums of money and riches "furniſhed for that pious end, by the king of Ireland,

"and

A. C. " and by other princes of that nation *." Beſides this, we find that Connor ſent a great number of noble knights, and other perſons of quality to the Holy Land. They were charged (ſays the above Chronicle), with many rich preſents to the emperor Lotharius, towards defraying the expences of the croiſades, and they were directed to fight under his banners.

1142 Turlogh, the brother of Connor, was proclaimed, by the eſtates, king of Munſter, immediately after his death, according to the law of taniſtry, by which the uncle or next in blood to the deceaſed, of the greateſt experience and abilities, was elected in preference to the heir apparent; and Mortogh, the ſon of Connor, ſucceeded his uncle, as king of Thomond. His mother was Saibh, daughter to O'Mealſeachlin, king of Tara.

1143 Soon after Turlogh's acceſſion to the throne of Munſter, he made a ſucceſsful irruption into Conaught; but the next year his own territories were invaded by Do-
1144 nogh Mac Carthy. From thence he entered the Deaſies, where he was ſeized on by O'Flanagan, and ſent under a ſtrong guard to Turlogh, who had him conveyed to the ſtrong fortreſs of Loch-Goir, in the county of Limeric, where he ſoon after ended his days. The great policy of Turlogh the monarch conſiſted in creating diviſions amongſt the Mamonians. He repreſented to the Eugenians, that for near two centuries, were they and their anceſtors deprived of the right of ſucceſſion to the crown of Munſter; and how mean they muſt appear in public eſtimation for ſo long and ſo tamely ſubmitting to ſuch injuſtice. This was what ſtimulated them in the reign of Connor, to oppoſe him in many inſtances. Turlogh, ſenſible of all this, judged that the ſureſt means of ſupporting his authority, was to humble the king of Conaught, by which means the Eugenians would be leſs

* Chron. Monaſt. St. Jacobi Ratiſbon.

fond

fond of ſhewing their hoſtile intentions. With a large army, Turlogh, in conjunction with his nephew Morrogh, invaded Conaught. A bloody battle was fought, in which the Conacians were worſted. Roderic O'Flaherty, and other perſons of note, were ſlain; and O'Kelly, chief of Hy-Maine, with many others, were made priſoners. Dermod, the ſon Cormoc, late king of Deſmond, with moſt of the Eugenians, were reſolved to ſupport his claim to the crown of Munſter; and the monarch Turlogh determined to aſſiſt them with all his power. A.C. 1145

At the head of the forces of Conaught and Breffni, Turlogh marched into Deſmond, where he was joined by the Eugenians. At the foot of Sliabh-Mis, in Kerry, were the combined forces attacked by the king of Munſter, who after a gallant reſiſtance and the loſs of much blood, obliged them to make a precipitate retreat. Dermod, however, collected his ſcattered forces, and having received conſiderable reinforcements, this ſame year entered the county of Limeric, and received a complete defeat, his entire army being cut off or diſperſed. 1150

Dermod, by his ambaſſadors, repreſented to the monarch the diſtreſſed ſituation of his affairs, and claimed a more powerful ſupport, than he had yet received. A council was called, and it was reſolved to dethrone the king of Munſter, coſt what it would. He ſends expreſſes to Leinſter, to Meath, to Breffni, and to all his tributaries, to attend his ſtandard early in March; but whilſt theſe formidable preparations were making, his ſon and heir, young Roderic, at the head of a choſen party, ſuddenly entered Thomond, and, amongſt other exceſſes, ſurpriſed, plundered, and ſet fire to the palace of Cincoar, "*the moſt ſtately royal edifice in Ireland*," ſays Tigernach's continuator. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the imperial army marched into Munſter, headed by the monarch in perſon, under whom were Mac Murcha, king of Leinſter, O'Mealſachlin, king of Meath, O'Ruark, and O'Beilis, princes 1151

of

A. C. of Breffni, and many other chiefs. Dermod Mac Carthy and the Eugenians, immediately pour in to his aſſiſtance, and the ſtate of the Munſter army ſeems very precarious. The night before the bloody battle of Monmoir, the imperial army had encamped on the ſide of the Black Water, whilſt their opponents, headed by Turlogh and his gallant nephew, were lodged about Cork. Early next morning theſe laſt marched to Glean-Mahair, and at Monmoir the two armies engaged. The imperial troops, as may well be ſuppoſed, were much more numerous than their adverſaries; yet, amongſt theſe laſt were three Dalgaſian brigades, or 9000 men, whoſe intrepidity and fortitude could be depended on. The engagement as uſual began with the projection of ſtones from ſlings, with the diſcharge of arrows, of lances, &c. Soon they came to cloſe, when the ſword, the battle-ax, and dagger, expoſed a new ſcene of carnage! In battles like this, ſtrength and numbers muſt ever prevail. After a long and bloody conflict, the Mamonians began to give way on every ſide: it was reſolved to ſound a retreat; and the Dalgais, whoſe province it was to lead on to the battle, always claimed the honour of covering the retreat. The ſon of the gallant Connor, at the head of his brave aſſociates, oppoſes their impenetrable column to every attack of the enemy. Unacquainted with fear, they could not think of retiring, and they ſcorned to aſk for quarter. Turlogh, by this means, and the ſhattered remains of his forces, gained time enough to reach Limeric, but with an almoſt irreparable loſs to North Munſter. For to effect this, the generous Mortogh and almoſt the entire of his corps fell in the ranks; and it may be ſaid, that the Dalgais never effectually recovered the loſs of that day!

The day after this deciſive battle, the monarch marches to Limeric; but Turlogh not chooſing to ſtand a ſiege, ſubmits to the conqueror, does him homage, puts hoſtages

tages into his hands, procures his own liberty by paying A. C.
down 200 ounces of pure gold, with many other valuable
preſents, and ſurrenders up his crown. Hereupon
Tiege-Gle was proclaimed king of Thomond, and Der-
mod Mac Carthy king of Deſmond; each to be ſupreme in
his own territories, and no farther. Turlogh, now an
exile, retired to the court of Tirone. O'Neill, prince
of that territory, received him with ſingular honours;
a league is formed between the princes of Ulſter, jealous
of the overgrown power of the monarch, and they de-
termine to reſtore the exile. The troops of Tirone,
Tyrconnel, Oirgial, &c. aſſemble; and in their march
through Meath, are attacked by thoſe of the monarch;
who, after a bloody conteſt, they defeat with great ſlaugh-
ter of men, beſides nine princes left dead on the field
of battle! After this, Turlogh is reinſtated in his king-
dom, and the eyes of Tiege-Gle put out, who retired to
the abbey of Liſmore, where he died in great repute for
ſanctity, in 1154. This ſucceſs of the enterpriſing
prince of Ulſter, encouraged him to make further at-
tempts to reſtrain the power of Turlogh O'Connor.
He invaded his territories by land, and with his navy, 1153
compoſed of his own ſhips, with others that he had taken
into his ſervice, from North Britain and the Orkneys,
he ſcoured the Conaught ſeas, and at length compelled
him to put hoſtages into his hands, as ſureties for his
peaceable demeanor for the future. The remainder of
the reign of Turlogh, he ſpent moſtly in acts of piety and
devotion, and died the 13th of June, 1156, in the ſixty-
eighth year of his age. By his will he ordered that his
body ſhould be depoſited in the church of St. Ciaran, at
Cluan Mac Noiſe, cloſe to the great altar.

The actions of this reign have been very ſuperficially
narrated by Keating and Bruodinus. Grat. Luc. is more
detailed, but without attending to dates, &c. The
Scotc-Chronicon, the Annals of Tigernach, of Innis-
Falen, and the tranſlation of the Book of Munſter,
have,

A. C. have, however, enabled me to throw the whole into a clear point of view. From the whole, it appears evident, that Turlogh was not only a great general, but a profound politician, who ſucceſsfully employed theſe different talents, according to exigencies. That he protected trade and manufactures, muſt be preſumed, from his rebuilding cauſeways and repairing the public roads. He threw two ſpacious bridges over the Shannon; one at Athlone, the other at Ath-Crochta, and one acroſs the river Suick. He repaired the cathedral of Tuam, erected there a ſpacious hoſpital, and founded and endowed with great ſplendour a priory in that city, under the invocation of St. John the Baptiſt. He augmented the funds of the abbey of Roſcommon, and founded a new profeſſorſhip of divinity in the univerſity of Ardmagh. He directed the hoſt to be carried with great ſolemnity, attended by many religious, through the kingdom, and afterwards to be depoſited in the abbey of Roſcommon, in a tabernacle of ineſtimable value. He preſented to the cathedral of Cluan Mac Noiſe a number of ſilver croſſes, ſome curious gold chalices and goblets, and erected there a mint. By will he directed, that all the valuable furniture of his palace, his veſſels of gold and ſilver, his diamonds and precious ſtones, the horſes and cattle of his domain, his muſical inſtruments, and five hundred and forty ounces of pure gold, with forty marks of ſilver, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the clergy and churches, and he noted down the proportions to each. Beſides, he directed that his horſe and arms, with his quiver and arrows, ſhould be depoſited at Cluan Mac Noiſe, on account of his ſingular reverence for St. Ciaran.

Thus died the great Turlogh O'Connor, in the higheſt eſtimation for piety! But ſay, ye caſuiſts, did he, or his formidable rival, Connor O'Brien, really merit this epithet, ſo liberally beſtowed on both? Will the erecting a few churches and monaſteries atone for the immature

ture death of thouſands, and the ruin of as many more? A. C.
Were the objects of theſe contending princes to eſtabliſh peace and ſubordination, and reſtore to their country its ancient conſtitution? If theſe were not their views, as we know they were not, then muſt there be ſomething extremely defective in the heads and hearts, and in the education of both! What avails it, that the Chriſtian ſyſtem exhibits the moſt exalted notions of morality that human nature can conceive, if mankind are not the better for it? The ſame crimes, the ſame thirſt of ambition and of empire, that have hurried men to the greateſt exceſſes in days of heatheniſm, are exhibited in every region and every age of Chriſtianity ſince the incarnation! Turenne, in one morning, had twenty-five villages and two cities of the Palatinate ſet fire to, and conſumed to aſhes, and yet was deemed a prince of great piety and humanity! It is ſaid of the great duke of Berwick, that he heard two maſſes every morning; and yet, after his devotions, we ſee he could ſit down with great compoſure to calculate the numbers of lives ſuch an attack, or ſuch a ſiege, would coſt him! It may be alledged, that Turenne and Berwick were but ſubjects, bound implicitly to obey the orders of their prince. This may be a good argument in the Mahometan ſyſtem, which enjoins the moſt ſervile obedience to the commands of their emperors, but not in the Chriſtian, which admits of a free will. But whilſt Alexanders and Cæſars, the devaſtators of countries and perverters of conſtitutions, are exhibited as models for princes; whilſt hiſtorians ſeem to dwell with pleaſure on ſieges and battles, ſtate convulſions, and ſtate revolutions, and ſlur over the bleſſings of peace, it cannot be otherwiſe! How much more enlivening would the deſcription of a royal progreſſion be, in which virtue is called forth from modeſt obſcurity, induſtry cheriſhed and rewarded, arts and ſciences protected, and peace and plenty ſmiling over the land!

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. VI.

Mortogh assumes the title of monarch—opposed by O'Connor—falls in the battle of Litterluin—state of the Irish church—St. Bernard's charges against this church and clergy, candidly examined and refuted—necessity of circumscribing its powers—council of Kells—four archbishops presented with palls, with a list of their suffragans.

1156 MORTOGH O'Niall, the son of Niall, the son of Lochlin, of the royal blood of Tirone, of the posterity of Niall the Grand, and house of Heremon, was saluted by his faction long before the death of Turlogh, monarch of Ireland; and this circumstance will reconcile what has been affirmed, that the famous council of Kells was held in his reign. Soon after the interment of Turlogh O'Connor, we read of Mortogh's triumphantly marching his army through different territories, and receiving the submissions of their several chiefs. So expeditious was he, that after over-running Ulster, Meath, and Leinster, we find him early in the year 1157, encamped before Limeric, where the princes of both Munsters, and people of that city, delivered him hostages, and did him homage.

1157 The young king of Conaught, Roderic, far from submitting to his authority, or confessing his sway, bid defiance to his power; and invading Tirone both by sea and land, desolated the whole country, particularly Inis-Eoghain, with all its costly buildings and elegant im-

1158 provements. The next year Roderic invaded Leinster and Meath, and obliged both territories to deliver up hostages to him. However, after much blood being spilt,

ſpilt, in the year 1162, a peace was concluded between A. C.
theſe princes, by which Roderic, on delivering of hoſtages to Mortogh, got the peaceable poſſeſſion of Connaught, with ſoveraignty over half the principality of Meath, which power he ceded to Dermod O'Mealſachlin, its natural chief, for an hundred ounces of pure gold. Mortogh, though in the main of a very religious caſt, yet was violent and impetuous in his temper. Eochaidh, prince of Ulida, and his neighbour, had refuſed to pay tribute, and in revenge Mortogh entered his territory with an armed hoſt, committing great depredations, and carrying off many of his vaſſals. Through the mediation of the archbiſhop of Ardmagh, and prince of Oirgial, a peace was concluded, and Eochaidh received into grace and favour. The prelate and prince were guarantees of this peace; and the reconciled chiefs ſolemnly ſwore before the great altar of Ardmagh, "By the holy "ſtaff of St. Patrick, and by the relics of Ireland," faithfully to obſerve all the articles of it; yet the very next year, for what reaſon we are not told, he cauſed Eochaidh to be ſeized, and his eyes put out, and his three chief confidents to be put to death. The prince of Oirgial, highly enraged at ſo flagrant a violation of public faith, and at the injury offered to himſelf, who pledged himſelf to Eochaidh on the part of the monarch, at the head of 9000 veterans, ſuddenly ruſhed into Tirone, laid waſte the country, and attacked the troops haſtily collected to oppoſe him. In this engagement, which our annaliſts call the battle of Litterluin, the monarch's army was cut to pieces, and he was himſelf found buried under heaps of his enemies. "Thus "fell, ſay our writers, the generous Mortogh, the moſt "intrepid and gallant hero of his day, the ornament of "his country, the thunder-bolt of war, and the Hector "of Weſtern Europe! He was victor in every battle 1165

"he

A. C. " he fought, except this; but, forgetting his ſolemn " vows, he fell a ſacrifice to juſtice."

As it is univerſally agreed upon, that it was in the reign of Mortogh that the famous council of Kells, in Meath, was held, in which cardinal Paparo preſided on behalf of pope Eugene III. and in which he diſtributed palliums to the Iriſh archbiſhops, the ſtate of the Iriſh church, ſince the laſt general council of Uiſneach, merits our attention.

In that council great advances were made by the clergy, and by the national ſtates, towards acknowledging the abſolute ſupremacy of Rome in ſpirituals. The archbiſhops gave up the power which their predeceſſors, ſince the days of Patrick, enjoyed and exerciſed, of creating biſhops at will: the biſhops agreed to a reduction of their number, and the monarch and eſtates exonerated the clergy, for the time to come, from temporal laws and temporal taxations! Still more was to be done before the power of Rome was completely eſtabliſhed. Different great families, having the power of preſentation to biſhoprics, deprived the popes of the full exerciſe of the power of making the biſhops, for the future, to depend immediately upon themſelves.

As this was an affair of the utmoſt conſequence to Rome, no wonder all the artillery of her advocates, both at home and abroad, ſhould be employed to deſtroy ſo great an obſtacle to her ambitious and intereſted views. " From this cauſe," ſays St. Bernard *, " aroſe " that univerſal diſſolution of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, " that diſregard of cenſure, and decay of religion, over " all Ireland!" The holy primate, Celſus, ſeemed ſo ſenſible of this, that, dying, he ſent the ſtaff of St. Patrick to St. Malachie, declaring him his ſucceſſor in the ſee of Ardmagh; and he conjured, by letters and

* Opera, p. 1937.

meſſages

meſſages to Mortogh the monarch, and to Domhnal, king of Leth-Cuin, that they would uſe their influence and authority to confirm his nomination. "For," ſays St. Bernard, "a moſt pernicious cuſtom had been eſtab-"liſhed, by the diabolical ambition of ſome men in "power, of getting poſſeſſion of the ſeat of St. Patrick, "by hereditary ſucceſſion; nor would they permit any "to be elected biſhops who were not of their own ſept "and family; for fifteen biſhops, of the ſame blood, "had ſucceſſively governed this church." The abbot had, with much more intemperance than Chriſtian charity, already given a moſt horrid account of the ſtate of religion in Ireland; and to this hereditary ſucceſſion of biſhops he attributed all theſe diſorders; but he confeſſes * that, in the early days of Chriſtianity, Ireland abounded with moſt holy and edifying eccleſiaſtics; and yet nothing is more certain, than that eccleſiaſtical dignities were hereditary in families all over the kingdom, at that time, and from that period down to his days! From this cuſtom he alſo dates another flagrant abuſe; "Hence," ſays he, "a practice became eſtabliſhed, un-"heard of ſince the promulgation of Chriſtianity, of "multiplying biſhops at the pleaſure of the metropoli-"tan." And yet this alſo was practiſed by St. Patrick and by his ſucceſſors, to the great advantage and increaſe of Chriſtianity, as Bede and almoſt all other early eccleſiaſtical writers acknowledge! Patrick conſecrated himſelf no leſs a number than three hundred and ſixty biſhops in his life-time; and his ſucceſſors not only conſecrated their domeſtic biſhops, but alſo dignitaries for the Britiſh, Gallic, and German miſſions! Thus it appears, contrary to the aſſertion of the abbot of Clare-valle, that, in the days of the higheſt ſplendour of the Iriſh church, in thoſe days when, by univerſal conſent, A C.

* Opera, p. 1937.

A. C. the country got the title of *Inſula Sanctorum*, the hierarchy was not only hereditary in families, but the ſucceſſors of St. Patrick and St. Ailbe conſecrated biſhops at pleaſure! If, then, from the fifth to the ninth and tenth centuries, when the piety, learning, and zeal of the Iriſh nation were ſo univerſally admitted, theſe cuſtoms of her church, far from injuring, highly ſerved the cauſe of religion; how account for their producing ſo contrary an effect in the twelfth? Nor was there, then, "*that univerſal diſſolution of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline*," in the Iriſh church, which St. Bernard affirmed; ſince, in the enormous volume of his works, now before me, of which the life of St. Malachie is a part, he acknowledges, that through the recommendation of his preceptor Imarius, St. Gelaſius ordained Malachie deacon and prieſt, "though he had not then arrived at the "exact age preſcribed by the canons, which *were then* "*ſtrictly obſerved*," that is, twenty-five years for deacons, and thirty for prieſts orders! For Gelaſius himſelf was of the hereditary line of the ſucceſſors of St. Patrick, as was Malachie alſo.

But as this work of St. Bernard's is the grand reſervoir from which all ſucceeding defamers of the Iriſh church and nation have drawn their authorities and arguments, it neceſſarily demands a more critical examination. St. Magonius, the patrician, was endowed with uncommon privileges by pope Celeſtin, on his miſſion to the Iriſh nation; all which he exerciſed in the fulleſt manner. After remaining twenty-nine years, preaching and converting the nation, he returned to Rome early in the year 461, to give an account of his miſſion to Leo the Grand, then pope, who received him with diſtinguiſhed honours. He remained in Rome near two years, and then returned to Ireland, where he continued until his death. Benignus, and his ſucceſſors, in the ſee of Armagh, even in the life-time of St. Patrick, exerciſed

theſe

theſe privileges, which ſeemed peculiar to the Iriſh church; and Patrick himſelf frequently convened ſynods and councils, at which he preſided as legate, to direct the affairs of the church. It is not particularly ſaid, but I think it muſt be admitted, that the powers originally granted to St. Patrick, were, on his return to Rome, confirmed to his ſucceſſors; becauſe we ſee them exerciſed even in his own life-time, (and he lived to 493) without the leaſt reſtraint; and, had they been irregular or uſurped, he certainly would forbid them. Thus the unlimited powers of the Iriſh archbiſhops were powers they derived from Rome, and which they employed for the advancement of religion only. It is certain, now that all Europe became Chriſtian, that this power was too great, and ſeemed to eclipſe, in ſome meaſure, that of Rome. The Iriſh clergy were admoniſhed on this head; and we ſee, that thirty-nine years before St. Bernard wrote the life of St. Malachie, (i. e. A. C. 1111) they, in full convocation, reſigned it, *though he adds it to the other charges againſt the nation!* We ſee alſo, in that famous council, that they agreed to leſſen the number of Iriſh biſhops; and St. Malachie himſelf, in 1139, made a ſurrender of all the other excluſive privileges of the Iriſh church to Innocent II. "who was ſo pleaſed, that, after appointing him legate, "he placed the mitre that was on his own head, on the "head of Malachie, gave him the ſtole and manipule "which he uſed himſelf at the altar, and giving him "*the kiſs of peace*, he diſmiſſed him with his benediction." St. Malachie, on his return to Ireland, called ſynods in different parts of the kingdom; "and every where," ſays St. Bernard *, "*were his councils and inſtructions re-*"*ceived, and ſubmitted to, as if they had come directly from*"*heaven!*" Theſe, ſurely, are not marks of a barba- A. C.

* Divi Bernardi Opera, p. 1944.

A. C rous people, Chriſtians only in name! Thus, we ſee, at the very time Bernard was employed in writing the preſent work, that Ireland acknowledged the ſupremacy of Rome; but the popes, though they got the power of approving of future Iriſh biſhops, had not yet that of *nominating them!* This was the grand deſideratum, and the want of this the ſource "of that univerſal diſſolu-"tion of church diſcipline, and that decay of religion "over all Ireland," which has been ſo confidently affirmed, though by no means proved. Had the Iriſh eccleſiaſtics, like the Saxons in the reign of Alfred, been ſo totally ignorant as not to underſtand the Latin tongue, or could it be recorded of them, as we find it in a council held at Oxford, A. C. 1222, where the "arch-"deacons are directed to take care that the clergy ſhall "rightly pronounce the Formulary of Baptiſm, and the "words of the conſecration in the Canon of the Maſs," there might be ſome pretence for ſo ſevere a charge!

As to the hereditary epiſcopal right, it is to be noticed, that, in Ireland, all poſts and public employments whatever, were confined to certain ſepts. When Chriſtianity ſuperſeded Druidiſm, thoſe great families, who founded biſhoprics, reſerved the power of nominating to them to their own blood. Perſons were ſet apart for the clerical function, but none were nominated or ordained who had not given the cleareſt proofs of pious and irreproachable lives. Hence the remarkable piety and humility of the Iriſh eccleſiaſtics, proved in every period of our hiſtory. We have but two inſtances where the impetuoſity of our eccleſiaſtics hurried the nation to war, and both were in defence of clerical power; and yet, in both inſtances, were their proceedings condemned, and themſelves cenſured, though both of the blood royal, namely, St. Columba in the ſixth, and the abbot of Inis-Catha, in the tenth age! But we have thouſands of inſtances, where they have been indefatigable in their endeavours

deavours to reſtore peace and concord between the princes of the land! As to our princes, certain it is, that they were proud, haughty, and ambitious, fond of war, and ready to decide every conteſt by the ſword. But, amidſt all theſe exceſſes and ravages, *I challenge any nation under the ſun to produce ſo few inſtances of proſcriptions or deliberate cruelties.* But to return from St. Bernard. A. C.

The privileges exerciſed by the Iriſh church were, it muſt be confeſſed, too great, and, held longer, might endanger a ſchiſm. It was a wiſe meaſure to reduce them; but we ſee it was unjuſt to ſuppoſe *them uſurped*, or that "an univerſal diſſolution of church diſcipline" was the conſequence: it was not; and the moment the churches of Rome and Ireland became united, proved it, ſince all the difference found between them was, *that the Iriſh nation paid theſe ſmall dues, called Peter's-pence, to the ſee of Ardmagh, which the reſt of Europe paid to Rome!* The biſhops, in full convocation in 1111, ſurrendered up to Rome the rights which they until then enjoyed; and great pains were every day taken to leſſen the other privileges of the Iriſh church. What then remained for Malachie to do, but, as the ſucceſſor of St. Patrick, to make a formal ſurrender of his ſee to Rome in his own name, and in the names of his ſucceſſors? But it required no ſmall difficulty to perſuade theſe princes and chiefs, who hitherto inducted to biſhopricks, to reſign ſo great a power. This it was that Innocent required of Malachie; for this purpoſe he appointed him his legate; and to promote it, did he aſſemble ſo many ſynods in the different parts of the kingdom. Early in the year 1148, a finiſhing hand was put to the great work of reformation; for at a council then held at Holm-Patrick, compoſed of Gelaſius, ſucceſſor to St. Patrick, and fifteen biſhops, with two hundred prieſts, many abbots and others, and in which St. Malachie, as legate, preſided, it was agreed to ſend him again to Rome, with

full

A. C. full power to compoſe all differences between the church and the Iriſh nation; but he died at Clarevalle, in his way to Rome. Immediately after, through the intereſt of St. Bernard, Chriſtian I. abbot of Mellefont, and who had reſided ſome time at Clarevalle, was appointed legate, and ſoon after biſhop of Liſmore. In 1150 he repaired to Rome with freſh authority from the princes and clergy, on the ſame buſineſs; and the following year he was diſpatched, in company with cardinal Paparo; but they did not arrive until early in the year 1152.

A council was then held at Kells, in which the legate preſided; and which, beſides the prelates and principal clergy, was alſo honoured by the preſence of Mortogh O'Neill (who it appears, even at this time, was ranked as monarch) with ſeveral other princes and nobles. Many uſeful regulations took place; among the reſt, the ſtate of the hierarchy was taken into conſideration. In the general council of Uiſneach the number of Iriſh biſhops were reduced to twenty-eight, under two metropolitans. The inſtructions to cardinal Paparo were, to have the church under the government of four archbiſhops, namely, Ardmagh, Caſhell, Tuam, and Dublin; but we find that it met with great oppoſition in the council. It was obſerved, that the moſt general diviſion of Ireland was that of Leath-Mogha and Leth-Cuin: that in the days of St. Patrick it was ſo, for which reaſon he himſelf ordained St. Ailbe archbiſhop of Munſter. It is true that afterwards St. Jarlath had aſſumed the title of archbiſhop of Conaught, and St. Conlaeth, of Leinſter; but they were not regularly conſecrated or generally acknowleged. That, in the council of Uiſneach, two archbiſhops only were appointed, and under them a certain number of biſhops; but if the preſent regulation took place, theſe muſt neceſſarily be deprived of ſome of their ſuffragans, or a new creation of biſhops muſt take place. But the cardinal obſerved, that Conaught and Leinſter were always particular kingdoms, and therefore entitled to

thoſe

thoſe marks of diſtinction; but that the archbiſhops of Ulſter and Munſter ſhould not imagine that he intended to encroach upon their rights, or leſſen the number of their ſuffragans, he would, by virtue of the apoſtolic power, appoint particular biſhops as ſuffragans to the new metropolitans. He was poſitive, though we are unacquainted with the reaſon, and it did not become new ſubjects to diſobey the papal authority. The following, taken from an *ancient Roman provincial*, was the regulation then received and adopted. A. C.

Under the archbiſhop of Ardmagh, primate of all Ireland, were twelve ſuffragans; namely, Meath, Down, Clocher, Connor Ardachd, Raphoe, Rathlure, Duleek, Derry, Dromore, Breffni, and Clanmacnois. Under the archbiſhop of Munſter or Caſhell, twelve; to wit, the biſhops of Killaloe, Limerick, Inis-Catha, Killfenuragh, Emily, Roſcrea, Waterford, Liſmore, Cloyne, Cork, Roſs, and Ardfert. The archbiſhop of Conaught had nine ſuffragans, who were the biſhops of Cilmac Duach, of Mayo, of Enachdun, of Inis-Caltra, Roſcomon, Clonfert, Achonry, Killalalla, and Elphin; and under the metropolitan of Leinſter, were the biſhops of Glendaloch, Ferns, Oſſory, Leighlin, and Kildare. In all thirty-eight biſhops: and becauſe it was known that the archbiſhops of Conaught and Leinſter had no certain fixt ſeats, it was decreed that Dublin ſhould be the future reſidence of the metropolitans of Leinſter, and Tuam of thoſe of Conaught. Some regulations were made in this country with regard to marriages; but this muſt certainly regard the clergy, becauſe in no other country, was the purity of blood more carefully attended to, as all poſts of honour were hereditary. After this, cardinal Paparo preſented palliums to the four archbiſhops in great pomp and form; and remained, ſays M. Fleury *, in Ireland until the Eaſter of 1153.

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 685.

From

A. C. From this time, to the arrival of the Engliſh, provincial ſynods, or general councils, were frequently held for reſtoring eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; among other regulations, to ſhew how ſolicitous they were for a firm union with Rome, it was decreed that none ſhould keep divinity ſchools, for the future, but ſuch as had taken out their doctors degrees in the univerſity of Ardmagh, as here the reformation firſt began.

CHAP. VII.

Roderic O'Connor receives the ſubmiſſions of Munſter, Leinſter, and Meath—prepares to invade Ulſter—diverted by the complaints of O'Ruark—his letter—grants troops, and appoints him general againſt Leinſter—Mac Murchad flies to England—Roderic invades Ulſter by ſea and land, and ſucceeds—ſeſſions of the eſtates of Leth-Cuin—Mac Murchad applies to Henry II. and is permitted to raiſe troops, but with no ſucceſs—leagues with Strongbow and Fitz-Stephens—returns to Ireland—ſubmits to the monarch, and makes peace with O'Ruark—the indirect uſe made by him of this peace.

1166 ON the death of Mortogh, Roderic O'Connor, ſon to Turlogh the Great, aſſumed the title, and was ſaluted monarch of Ireland by his faction. Soon after this he collected his troops, and called his tributaries to his ſtandard; and, at the head of a reſpectable army, invaded Tyrconnel, which he ſubdued, and had hoſtages put into his hands. On his return he was joined by O'Ruark and O'Reily, princes of Breffni, and O'Mealſachlin, king of Meath, and with his combined forces he proceeded to Dublin, where he was moſt honourably received and entertained. Here the Dublinians rendered him

him homage as monarch of Ireland, and they received A. C.
from him a preſent of 4000 oxen. From hence he marched to Drogheda, and took hoſtages from O'Cearbhoil, prince of Oirgial, who alſo did him homage; that is, *on his bended knees put his hands cloſed into thoſe of Roderic*; and as a mark of his being a vaſſal, the monarch ordered him a *Tuaraſdel*, or ſubſidy of 2000 bullocks. In the interim Mac Murchad, king of Leinſter, made an incurſion into Meath, for which inſolence he was ſeverely puniſhed by Roderic. For he haſtily marched into Leinſter, attacked and defeated his troops, and obliged him to ſubmit, and give ſureties for his good behaviour, and greatly abridged his power. The prince of Oſſory acknowledged his ſway, and received the uſual preſents of a vaſſal; from thence he marched into Munſter, received hoſtages from Deſmond and Thomond, and then returned to Conaught with great glory and triumph.

In the ſpring of 1167, he was making great prepa- 1167
rations both by ſea and land to reduce Tyrone, and oblige the chief of the northern Hi-Neills to ſubmit to him; but an extraordinary accident retarded for ſome time the execution of this enterprize. The king of Leinſter had long conceived a violent affection for Dearbhorgil, daughter to the king of Meath; and though ſhe had been for ſome time married to O'Ruark, prince of Breffni, yet it could not reſtrain his deſires. They carried on a private correſpondence, and ſhe informed him, that O'Ruark intended ſoon to go an a pilgrimage (an act of piety frequent in thoſe days) and conjured him to embrace that opportunity of conveying her from a huſband ſhe deteſted, to a lover ſhe adored. Blinded by licentious deſire, Mac Murchad too punctually obeyed the ſummons, and had the lady conveyed to his capital of Ferns. An outrage of this kind, ſo new and ſo unheard of, aſtoniſhed every one; but the feelings of the injured

A. C. injured huſband, will be beſt expreſſed by the letter which he addreſſed to king Roderic, on this ſubject *.

" O'Ruark, to Roderic the monarch, health.

" Though I am ſenſible, moſt illuſtrious prince, that " human adverſities ſhould be always ſupported with " firmneſs and equanimity; and that a virtuous man " ought not to diſtreſs or afflict himſelf, on account of " the levity and inconſtancy of an imprudent female; " yet, as this moſt horrible crime (of which I am fully " ſatisfied), muſt have reached your ears, before the " receipt of my letters; and as it is a crime hitherto ſo " unheard of, as far as I can recollect, as never to be " attempted againſt any king of Ireland; ſeverity im- " pels me to ſeek juſtice, whilſt charity admoniſhes me " to forgive the injury. If you conſider only the diſ- " honour, that I confeſs is mine alone: if you reflect " on the cauſe, it is common to us both! For what

* O'Rorcius, Lotherico monarcho, S.

Etſi non ſum neſcius, (illuſtriſſime princeps) humanos caſus quo ſemper animo ferendos, et hominis eſſe, virtutis præſtantia excellentis, ob meretricis inconſtantiam mutabilitatemque non effeminari; tamen cum atrociſſimum hoc crimen, quod ad te, certò ſcio, prius omnium rumore, quam meis literis allatum eſt, ita ſit hactenus in-auditum, ut ante hunc diem, non ſit, noſtra memoria, contra ullum (quod ſciam) Hibernicum regem ſuſceptum; ſeveritas me jubet; juſtitiæ concedere, quod caritas monet, vindicta recuſare. Si dedecus ſpectes hoc, ad me unum fateor pertinet, ſi cauſſam conſideres, en tibi mecum eſt communis. Qualem enim, in noſtris hominibus, nobis regia dominatione devinctis, ſpem collocabimus, ſi mulieroſus hic Mæchus, ac potius pudicitiæ expugnator, tanti ſceleris impunitatem fuerit conſecutus? Quippe, inulta principium flagitia (qui in omnium oculis habitant) pernicioſam imitationem exempli populo prodere conſueſcunt. In ſumma; meam erga te voluntatem ſatis exploratum habes. Vides me fortunæ telis ſauciatum, maximis incommodis ad fectum, ſummis difficultatibus adflictum! Reliquum eſt cùm totus animo et ſtudio ſim tuus, ut injurias, quibus laceror, tam conſilio togatus, quàm auxilio armatus perſequaris. Hoc cum velis, et ut velis, non ſolum à te poſtulo, verùm etiam flagito. Vale.

" confidence

" confidence can we place in our ſubjects, who are A. C.
" bound unto us by royal authority, if this laſcivious
" adulterer, or rather deſtroyer of chaſtity, ſhall eſcape
" unpuniſhed, after the commiſſion of ſo flagitious a
" crime? The outrages of princes ſo publicly and ſo
" notoriouſly committed, if not corrected become pre-
" cedents of pernicious example to the people. In a
" word, you are thoroughly convinced of my affection
" and attachment to you. You behold me wounded
" with the ſhafts of fortune, affected by numberleſs in-
" conveniences, and ſorely diſtreſſed with the greateſt af-
" flictions! It only remains for me to requeſt, as I am
" entirely devoted to you, that you will, not only with
" your counſels aſſiſt, but with your arms revenge theſe
" injuries which torment and diſtract me. This when
" you will, and as you will, I not only demand, but
" *require* at your hands.—Farewel."

On receipt of the expreſs, the monarch held a council; and the reſult was, that Mac Murchad was unworthy to govern, and therefore muſt be depoſed and baniſhed. He immediately detached a body of his troops, and ſent with them orders to the king of Meath, and to the people of Dublin and Oſſory, to join O'Ruark, whom he nominated general in this expedition. Mac Murchad endeavoured to oppoſe their paſſage into Leinſter; but on this occaſion found himſelf deſerted by the nobility, the military, and even by his principal favourites and dependants, ſo horrible did the crime he was charged with appear in their eyes! Thus circumſtanced, he retired to Ferns, and not daring to ſtand a ſiege, he fled from thence, and had himſelf and about ſixty perſons in his ſuit (ſays his ſecretary O'Regan) conveyed to Briſtol. The caſtle of Ferns ſoon ſurrendered, his country was divided between the prince of Oſſory, and Murcha, a

prince

A. C. prince of his blood; and ſeventeen hoſtages were brought to the monarch.

Public juſtice being thus rendered to the prince of Breffni, the monarch prepared with a royal army to invade Tirone, whilſt with a fleet of a hundred and ninety ſhips he ſcoured the ſeas, cut off their ſupplies from North Britain, and aſſiſted the operations of the army. At the head of thirteen legions, or 39,000 foot, and ſeven legions, or 14,000 horſe, he marched into Ulſter, ſays Lucius *; nor ſhall we be ſurpriſed at ſo great a force, when we conſider, that it was to act againſt the greateſt chief in Ulſter; and that Roderic had under him O'Brien and Mac Carthy, kings of the two Munſters, O'Mealſachlin, king of Meath, O'Reily and O'Ruark kings of the two Breffnies, the princes of Oirgial, Ulida, and of Leinſter, &c. The troops from the fleet landed at Derry to attack it, whilſt with the land forces he penetrated into Tirone. In vain did O'Neill attempt to oppoſe their paſſage, and try by ſurpriſe to attack the imperial camp at night. Through treachery, or the darkneſs of the night, his troops marching different ways, fell upon each other; nor was the miſtake diſcovered until much blood was ſpilt. Thus circumſtanced, he judged it better to ſubmit, than to ſee his country laid waſte and himſelf depoſed. He ſent his ambaſſadors to Roderic, propoſed to pay him homage, and to deliver into his hands hoſtages for his loyalty, for the time to come. The terms were accepted: in the preſence of the other princes and nobles, O'Neill uncovered and kneeling, placed his hands cloſed between thoſe of the monarch, which implied ſurrendering his power into his hands, and was immediately after received into grace and favour. After this, Roderic diſmiſſed his auxiliaries with rich preſents, and returned to Conaught, attended by the kings of the

* Cambrenſ. Everſ. p. 88.

two

two Munſters, whom he royally entertained, and on their departure preſented them with gifts of great value, particularly a ſword of exquiſite workmanſhip, to O'Brien, and a curious goblet of pure gold to Mac Carthy. A. C.

In this ſame year it was *, that Roderic ſent forth notices for a general convention of the eſtates *(not of all Ireland,* but of Leth-Cuin) to meet at Athboy, in Meath, called Ath-Buie-Flacta, as it was here that the famous temple of Flacta, ſacred to Samhuin, or the moon, was erected in the days of Druidiſm. This Feis, beſides the monarch in perſon, was honoured with the preſence of O'Mealſachlin king of Meath, O'Ruark and O'Reilly, princes of the Breffnis, O'Dunlevy king of Ulida, O'Felan prince of the Deaſies, &c. Beſides theſe, St. Gelaſius the primate, St. Laurence O'Toole archbiſhop of Dublin, Caeda O'Dubthig archbiſhop of Tuam, with a great number of biſhops, abbots, and inferior clergy, attended this convention alſo. In this Feis (ſays my authority) many wholeſome laws and regulations took place, as well for the government of the church as the ſtate. How long this ſeſſions held, is not ſaid; but that it broke up the ſame year, and that no leſs a number than 13,000 horſe attended it, are poſitively affirmed. 1167

In the beginning of this year Morrogh O'Brien, king of Thomond, was killed by the people of Deſmond (ſays Lucius) who paid an Eric of three thouſand one hundred and twenty beeves; but the Munſter annals affirm, that he fell by the hands of his own couſin Connor, grandſon to the famous Connor na Catharach; nevertheleſs Domhnal, brother to the deceaſed, ſucceeded him. Soon after, the people of Dealbhna attacked O'Fennelan, their natural lord, and put him and his adherents to the ſword. The people of Meath, who joined in this inſurrection, were fined eight hun- 1168

* Trias Thaumat. p. 310, &c.

dred

A. C. dred bullocks, and thoſe of Dealbhna ſeverely fined, but how much, is not ſaid. Early this year the great fair of Tailtean was proclaimed, and held the uſual time (i. e. from the 16th of July, to the 15th of the following Auguſt) with great ſplendour and ſolemnity.

We obſerved of Mac Murchad, that, deſerted and deteſted by every one, he fled to England, hoping, that in a ſtrange country, where his tyranny and crimes were not ſo well known, he might procure friends and followers to aſſiſt him. After remaining ſome time at Briſtol, he proceeded to Normandy, to claim the protection of Henry, king of England. Henry gave him a favourable reception, heard his tale, but excuſed himſelf from at preſent engaging in his cauſe. Mac Murchad requeſted at leaſt his permiſſion, to convey to Ireland ſuch volunteers as he could procure in England, which Henry agreed to, and ſent with him the follwing proclamation:

" Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and
" Aquitain, earl of Anjou, &c. unto all his ſubjects,
" Engliſh, Normans, Welſh, and Scots, and to all
" nations and people, being his ſubjects, greeting.

" Whereas Dermod, king of Leinſter, moſt wrong-
" fully (as he informeth) baniſhed out of his own coun-
" ty, hath craved our aid; therefore, foraſmuch as we
" have received him into our protection, grace and fa-
" vour, whoever within our realms, ſubject unto our
" command, will aid and help him, whom we have
" embraced as our truſty friend, for the recovery of
" his land, let him be aſſured of our grace and fa-
" vour."

Mac Murchad, by ſound of trumpet had this proclamation frequently read in Briſtol, and ſome adjoining cities.

cities. He offered great rewards in money and lands to A. C.
ſuch as would enliſt under his banners; but his ſucceſs was not great. After a month's ſtay at Briſtol he retired to Wales. He applied to Richard earl of Strigul, commonly called Strongbow, a powerful and popular chief in Wales. He made him conſiderable offers to attach him to his ſervice. He went ſo far as at laſt to promiſe him his daughter in marriage, and the reverſion of his kingdom, after his death, if by his means, and thoſe of his friends and aſſociates, he ſhould be reſtored to his dominions. So tempting an offer cold not be reſiſted. Strongbow immediately entered deep into all the ſchemes of the exile. The treaty was ſigned and ſworn to on both ſides; and Mac Murchad bound himſelf by oath, to give him, at a proper time, his daughter in marriage, and to ſettle the reverſion of his kingdom on him; though this laſt he knew was contrary to the fundamentals of the conſtitution, for the right of election was veſted in the chiefs of the country, and none could be put in nomination for the crown of Leinſter, who were not of the line of Cathoir the Great!

Earl Richard, now entirely devoted to Mac Murchad, adviſed him by all means to gain to his intereſt, Robert Fitz-Stephens, a nobleman of great intereſt, but who had been for three years confined by Rice ap Griffen, prince of South Wales. Mac Murchad waited on this prince, and not only procured his enlargement, but liberty to tranſport himſelf and his friends and followers to Ireland. To him, and to his half-brother Maurice 1168
Fitz-Gerald, he promiſed to give up the town of Wexford, with two cantreds of land adjoining, on condition of their ſupport and aſſiſtance; and now he ſet ſail for Ireland, with as many volunteers as he could collect. He privately advertiſed ſome of his moſt faithful adherents of his landing with ſome forces, which were ſoon

to

A. C. to be followed by more conſiderable ſuccours, and he conjured them to repair to his ſtandard. Thoſe who firſt joined him, laboured of courſe to engage as many as they could in the ſame cauſe; and Mac Murchad found himſelf powerful enough to be acknowledged, at leaſt in his hereditary territories. His mortal enemy O'Ruark, had ſoon notice of this, and advertiſed the monarch, who ſent him troops, with orders to purſue and reduce him. Mac Murchad, diffident of his own ſubjects, and ſenſible how unequal the conteſt muſt be, between his few auxiliaries and his opponents, had recourſe to negotiation. He made the moſt abject offers of ſubmiſſion to the monarch, and conjured him to interpoſe his good offices, to bring about a reconciliation between him and O'Ruark, whom he confeſſed he had greatly injured. That he was ſtill making expiations for the horrid crime he had committed, as the unhappy lady long had been amongſt the holy nuns of St. Bridget at Kildare; and he hoped that he would not drive an unfortunate prince to indigence and deſpair, but allow him ſome ſmall portion of the poſſeſſions of his anceſtors, to ſupport the remains of a miſerable life. His repreſentations were favourably heard; he was allowed ten cantreds of the lands of Hi-Cinſellag (Wexford): he paid homage, and delivered up ſeven hoſtages to the monarch; and he gave to O'Ruark a hundred ounces of pure gold, as an Eric for the injury he did him.

Having thus artfully gained a ſolid ſettlement at home, Mac Murchad, forgetful of his oath and his hoſtages, ſent his confident and ſecretary O'Regan, privately to Wales, to remind his friends of their promiſes and engagements, and that he was ready to receive them with open arms. As the ſeaſon was now far advanced, he adviſed them to ſend a few troops by different ways; but to be ready by ſpring, with what forces they could collect,

collect, to land on the Leinſter coaſts, where he would be ready to receive and ſupport them with a good body of troops. O'Regan was alſo inſtructed to procure as many recuits as he could, and for this purpoſe to ſpare neither money nor promiſes to allure the people to his ſtandard. A. C.

BOOK XIII.

CHAP. I.

Landing of the Welſh adventurers, and junction with the army of Mac Murchad—aſſault Wexford three different times, and are repulſed—delivered up by compoſition—Mac Murchad invades and lays waſte the principality of Oſſory—the monarch, alarmed at his ſucceſs, directs him to ceaſe further hoſtilities, and diſmiſs his auxiliaries—through the interceſſion of the Leinſter clergy, Mac Murchad agrees to a freſh peace, and breaks through every article of it—enters into treaty with the king of Thomond—New Spain diſcovered—landing of Strongbow, and capture of Waterford—they march to Dublin—Dublin ſurpriſed, and the maſſacre of its inhabitants—remarks on this ſucceſs, and on the council of Ardmagh.

A. C. 1169 WHILST Mac Murchad was preparing to aſſert his right to the kingdom of Leinſter, his foreign aſſociates were equally active in his cauſe. In May, 1169, Fitz-Stephens, Fitz-Gerald, Barry, Hervey, &c. landed near Wexford with thirty knights, ſixty eſquires, and three hundred archers, and theſe were next day joined by Maurice Prendergaſt, at the head of ten knights and two hundred archers. By letters, dated May 11, 1169, they adviſed Mac Murchad of their ſafe arrival, and waited his orders as to their proceedings. He immediately ſent his natural ſon, Donald, at the head of five hundred

hundred horſe, to join them, whilſt, at the head of his infantry, he followed. He received them with every expreſſion of joy, and they immediately concerted their plan of operations. Wexford, being neareſt to them, and a port of conſequence, it was reſolved to attack. The garriſon (conſidering the abject ſtate of Mac Murchad's affairs, and how univerſally deteſted he was) imagined they were ſtrong enough to diſperſe, in the field, this troop of invaders, and marched ſome diſtance from the town to give them battle; but when they beheld a regular and well diſciplined body of men, horſe and foot, exceeding three thouſand, they retreated, burning all the villages and houſes contiguous to the town, making cloſe the gates, and manning the walls. This retreat of the Iriſh inſpired their antagoniſts with freſh courage, and orders were inſtantly given to make a general aſſault on the town. But, notwithſtanding, "*the ſounding of* "*trumpets, the neighing of their barbed horſes, their ſhining* "*armour, and regular diſcipline,*" which Cambrenſis, Campion, Stainhurſt, Hanmer, and later writers affirm, were new and terrifying ſpectacles to the natives, we find, by the reſiſtance they made, that prudence, more than fear, determined their retreat. Fitz-Stephens and Barry led on the troops to the aſſault. They ſoon filled the ditches, and fixed their ladders againſt the walls and turrets; but the Iriſh, regardleſs of "*their ſhining ar-*"*mour and their regular diſcipline,*" every where received them with their accuſtomed courage. Their knights were hurled headlong from the walls, their ladders were broke, and, after the loſs of many gallant ſoldiers, they ſounded a retreat. This repulſe greatly depreſſed the ſpirits of the invaders; and Fitz-Stephens, apprehenſive that his followers would deſert him, inſtantly, at the head of a ſelect body of friends, with great reſolution and preſence of mind, ſet fire to all the ſhips in the harbour, to ſhew his men that they had no alternatives for the A. C.

A. C. future but victory or death. For three ſucceeding days, ſays Campion, did they renew the aſſault, and with no better ſucceſs. At length, the biſhop and clergy of Wexford, to prevent the further effuſion of Chriſtian blood, exerted their utmoſt influence to bring about a reconciliation between the contending parties. After many meſſages backwards and forwards, Mac Murchad agreed to accept the ſubmiſſions of the citizens: they renewed their oaths of fidelity, and put into his hands four of their principal burgeſſes as hoſtages for their future good behaviour. Mac Murchad, according to treaty, made over the lordſhip of this city and liberties, to Fitz-Stephens and Fitz-Gerald.

The reduction of Wexford, and the report of the numbers of foreigners who came to the aid of Mac-Murchad, (which, as uſual in ſimilar caſes, was greatly exaggerated) encreaſed his reputation, and made numbers of the Lagenians reſort to his ſtandard, though much againſt their inclinations, for few princes were more deteſted. His army being conſiderably increaſed, he thought it high time to be revenged on Fitz-Patrick, prince of Oſſory, on whom part of his territories had been beſtowed by the monarch. He imparted his reſolutions to the foreigners, who readily agreed to the propoſal, ſtimulated thereto by the hopes of plunder. He collected all his forces, with a conſiderable body from Wexford, at the head of whom he entered the territories of Oſſory. Domhnal, chief of that territory, had fortified all the paſſages into it; ſo that, after three days conſtant ſkirmiſhing, the Lagenians made no ſort of impreſſion. This ſucceſs determined the Oſſorians to quit their entrenchments, and attack the enemy in the open field; but, much inferior in number, they were obliged to retire, and Mac Murchad gave full liberty to his troops to burn, plunder, and deſtroy the open country without mercy! He then returned to Ferns, loaded with the

ſpoils

ſpoils and treaſures of Offory. The glory of this victory, A. C.
Engliſh writers, with their accuſtomed vanity, attribute to their countrymen, though not the tenth part of Mac Murchad's army! The Engliſh cavalry are alſo highly extolled, though five ſhips only wafted *all their forces* to Ireland, in which there was not *a ſingle horſe*; though all the writers agree, that the ſon of the king of Leinſter immediately joined them, at the head of five hundred cavaliers, which was all the horſe in the army! Nay, of ſo little conſequence were they in the main, that, though it appears that immediately after this defeat of the Offorians, Prendergaſt joined the prince of Offory, the ſworn enemy to Mac Murchad, with about half the Welſh adventurers, (for not one Engliſhman was of the party) yet it produced no alteration for the better or the worſe in his affairs!

Thus did Mac Murchad, by uncommon fortitude and invincible perſeverance, notwithſtanding his accumulated crimes, repoſſeſs himſelf of all the dominions of his anceſtors! Revolutions of this kind, we have ſeen, were frequent in Ireland, but never on ſo flagrant an occaſion as the preſent. He had already made his peace with O'Ruark, and the repoſſeſſion of his country was an affair in which the public at large were not intereſted. Princes were frequently depoſed, or their power circumſcribed, according as they ſtood attached to the monarch for the time being, and this without any public convulſions. Such was the light in which the preſent revolution was conſidered; but to Roderic, and to his party *only*, it became an alarming affair. If Mac Murchad held his kingdom of Leinſter without doing homage for it, his own power, as monarch, muſt become precarious. Add to this, that Donald O'Brien; ſon-in-law to Mac Murchad, being now king of Thomond and Ormond, that is, of North and Eaſt Munſter, Roderic dreaded his power and ſuſpected his fidelity. By diſperſing the forces

A. C. forces of the Lagenians, or compelling Mac Murchad to confeſs his ſway, he diſſipated all apprehenſions of a confederacy againſt him, which might end in his depoſition.

Roderic ſummoned a meeting of all his friends and tributaries, to take their advice on the preſent ticklish ſituation of his affairs. The reſult was, that meſſengers ſhould be ſent to Fitz-Stephens, and his followers, to demand "by what right or authority they preſumed "hoſtilely to invade and diſplay their banners in this "land? and ordering them immediately to quit the "country, or expect to be treated as pirates and robbers "who had taken up arms without the ſanction of their "lawful ſovereign." As their ſhips had been burned, he alſo offered them ſhips and money to tranſport themſelves: but theſe adventurers were between two rocks, Sylla and Charibdis. Fitz-Stephens, their chief, had been taken out of priſon, after a confinement of three years, at the earneſt requeſt of Mac Murchad and the biſhop of St. David's, on condition of quitting the kingdom; and we muſt ſuppoſe that his followers were not in a much more reſpectable ſituation. That they were ALL perſons of deſperate fortunes, is univerſally admitted; and that they were men of the moſt diſſolute morals, rapacious, blood-thirſty, and cruel, the whole tenor of their lives, from their firſt landing in Ireland to their different deaths, ſufficiently proclaim! Outcaſts of their own country, what other would wiſh to receive them? Was it a virtuous attachment to the intereſt of Mac Murchad, or their own deſperate ſituations, that made them reject offers ſo full of humanity? Any one can anſwer the queſtion. A cauſe like Mac Murchad's was worthy ſuch ſupporters: *ſimile ſimili*.

But whilſt theſe orders were given to the ambaſſadors of Roderic, others were given to his troops, and to his confederates, to aſſemble without delay to add greater weight

weight to this negociation. The anſwer was ſuch as was expected; but it acquitted the monarch, in the eyes of the public, from the conſequences that might be ſuppoſed to attend ſuch refuſal. At the head of twenty thouſand men, horſe and foot, highly appointed, Roderic entered Leinſter; but the rebels, unable to face ſuch an army, retired from poſt to poſt until they reached the faſtneſſes of the country about Ferns, which they ſtrongly fortified, hoping to protract the war until they received new ſuccours from their friends in Wales. But Roderic, reſolving to finiſh the campaign as ſoon as poſſible, divided his army into different detachments, appointed the troops who were to attack the different poſts, and thoſe who were to ſupport them; and, addreſſing them in an animating ſpeech, he ordered them to march on to victory; but (in an unlucky hour for this devoted kingdom!) the clergy of Leinſter, aſſembled in a body, preſented themſelves before the monarch, and conjured him, in the moſt pathetic terms, to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood! Mac Murchad was at his mercy; and all he could require by a victory ſhould be granted without ſtriking a blow. Thus, firſt at Wexford, and again near Ferns, was Mac Murchad and his aſſociates preſerved from inevitable ruin, through the interpoſition of the Iriſh clergy! The credulous monarch became again a dupe to the ſincerity of his own heart; and the perjured Mac Murchad gained a further length of days to complete the ruin of his country! Through the mediation of the clergy a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1ſt. Mac Murchad was to poſſeſs the country of Hi-Cinſellagh, or Wexford, with the title of king of Leinſter. 2d. He was to do homage to the monarch for this territory, as holding it in vaſſalage under him. 3d. He was to diſmiſs all the foreigners, with proper rewards for their trouble, and never admit any more of them into his country. All this was ratified by oath before the A. C.

great

A. C. great altar of the church of St. Maidog at Ferns, and he delivered his baſe ſon Art into the hands of Roderic, as a further ſecurity.—This proves upon what light grounds theſe writers go, who affirm, that with the meſſengers ſent to Fitz-Stephens by Roderic, he ſent others to Mac Murchad, requiring his immediate ſubmiſſion and the diſmiſſion of the foreigners; ſince we ſee that he thought himſelf now happy to compound for ſuch a ſacrifice. But the Lagenian meant as little ſecurity in this as he did in his former treaty. The truth is, he was ſo univerſally deteſted by his own people, that he apprehended falling a ſacrifice to their reſentment the moment his foreign ſatellites quitted him, and was therefore determined to ſtick to them to the laſt.

The credulous monarch, relying on the faith of this treaty, ſolemnly guaranteed by the clergy of Leinſter, diſmiſſed his auxiliaries and retired to his own domain, whilſt Mac Murchad, under various pretences, delayed the time of fulfilling his engagements. It was the intereſt of the foreigners to appear uſeful and neceſſary to him, to their counſels he adhered; and what confirmed him the more was the arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, at Wexford, with ten knights, thirty eſquires, and an hundred archers, at this critical time. With this addition to his army, Dermot ſuddenly appeared before Dublin, laying waſte the country all around. The citizens, to get rid of ſo troubleſome a gueſt, agreed to give him hoſtages, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which laſt was the ſole object of this expedition.

Domhnal Mor O'Brien, king of Thomond, beheld with ſecret pleaſure the errors committed by Roderic. He was ſon-in-law to Mac Murchad, and ſecretly encouraged his defection. He was in hopes to extend his power, and that of his houſe, at the expence of the monarch, and he entered into a private treaty with Dermod, by which they engaged to ſupport each other.

The

The ſeaſon was now far ſpent, and Mac Murchad ſent preſſing letters to Strongbow to join him, with all his forces, early next year. This year Maidoc, or Maidog, third ſon to Owen Gwineth, prince of North Wales, by an Iriſh princeſs, finding his country in great commotions, and his brothers engaged in civil wars againſt each other, retired to his maternal patrimony of Clochran, in Conaught; and being a prince of great experience in maritime affairs, he fitted out a number of ſhips, with which he ſailed from Ireland (ſay my authorities, Clin and Stow) ſo far north as to diſcover lands until then unknown; and theſe regions, in the opinion of the antiquarian Humphrey Lloyd, and others, muſt have been part of New Spain; if ſo, Iriſh and Welſhmen may claim the honour of this diſcovery prior to Columbus or Americus Veſpuſius. A. C.

The winter was ſpent in negociations and ſecret preparations, the effects of which appeared early in the ſummer; for the king of Thomond openly diſclaimed all allegiance to the monarch, and ſet his power at defiance. Roderic invaded Thomond, and Donald claimed aid from Mac Murchad, who ſent him a good body of troops, Iriſh and Engliſh, under the command of Fitz-Stephens; and this was the firſt footing of the foreigners in this fertile province. Many ſharp and bloody encounters enſued, with various ſucceſs; but Roderic, called away by more preſſing engagements, was obliged to relinquiſh this object for the preſent. 1170

Strongbow, during the winter, was very active in raiſing troops for his intended expedition; but ſenſible how highly enraged Henry II. was with Fitz-Stephens and his party, for preſuming to enter into the ſervice of the king of Leinſter, without his particular licence, he laboured to procure his permiſſion to ſerve in the ſame cauſe. He applied to the king ſeveral times, who, tired with his importunities, contemptuouſly anſwered at laſt —"That

A. C. —"That he might go as far as his feet could carry him; "nay, if he would get Dedalus's wings, as far as he could fly." Equivocal and inſulting as this anſwer was, Strongbow took it for a permiſſion; but he firſt ſent Raymond Le Groſs, with ten knights and about a hundred archers, as his vanguard, to announce to Dermod when he himſelf intended to land, that he might be ready to ſupport him. This ſmall body of men landed about four miles from Waterford, and immediately took poſſeſſion of an old neglected fortreſs, which they repaired, and then ſallied out on the great object of plunder. They collected a large quantity of horned cattle, which they obliged the countrymen to drive before them; but O'Felan, O'Ryan, and ſome of the burgeſſes of Waterford, tumultuouſly aſſembled to retake the cattle and chaſtiſe theſe bold invaders. With great difficulty, and ſome loſs, the cattle, and part of the guard, gained the fortreſs; but the remainder were in a fair way of being cut off, which O'Raymond perceiving, with great reſolution he ſallied forth, and flew, with his own hand, O'Ryan, and his aſſociates many more. The loſs of one of their chiefs deranged the Iriſh for a while; and in this ſtate of irreſolution, Raymond with uncommon preſence of mind, ordered the cattle, with ſword and pike, to be drove againſt the enemy, whilſt his troops followed. It was a critical moment to ſave his party from deſtruction, and he availed himſelf of it: the wounded beaſts ruſhed with great fury through the midſt of their ranks, and all was confuſion. Raymond, and his troops, gave them no time to form or rally, and, after a great carnage, took ſeventy priſoners, with which they marched back in triumph to their fortreſs. But becauſe Engliſhmen, when they commit acts of cruelty, chooſe to do them deliberately, Cambrenſis, &c. tells us, that Raymond called a council of war to determine on the fate of theſe priſoners;

priſoners; and it was agreed that they ſhould firſt have A. C.
their limbs broke, and then be all precipitated into the ſea; which was inſtantly after executed, and this for attempting to regain their properties from the hands of lawleſs banditti! Immediately after this inhuman and bloody ſacrifice, Raymond was joined by a body of Iriſh and Engliſh of Mac Murchad's faction.

We are told, that whilſt Strongbow was preparing to embark his men at Milford, Henry ſent an expreſs, commanding him, on pain of his allegiance and life, to diſmiſs his troops, and return to court to give an account of himſelf; but he had gone too far, and the tenor of the meſſage itſelf ſeemed too menacing to abide its conſequences. Strongbow, therefore, weighed anchor, and, in a few hours after, landed in the bay of Waterford, on the 23d of Auguſt, at the head of two hundred knights, and one thouſand two hundred foot ſoldiers, well appointed. Here he was joined by Mac Murchad, Fitz-Stephens, Fitz-Gerald, and Raymond, with their forces, who attended his arrival. A council of war was held, and, as it was of the utmoſt conſequence to poſſeſs themſelves of Waterford, as well for the facility of receiving ſuccours from South Wales, as for their own ſecurity in caſe of a future defeat, the diſpoſitions were made to aſſault it next day, without waiting the tedious form of a ſiege, which their critical ſituation would by no means permit. The combined forces advanced to the aſſault with great intrepidity, and were as bravely received by the beſieged, who, after a bloody conflict, obliged them to ſound a retreat. Next day they renewed the attack, in different places, with freſh forces, but ſucceeded in none! Raymond, who commanded as general in this ſiege, became very doubtful of the event. He carefully ſurveyed all the walls and approaches to the town: he noticed an houſe projecting from the walls, the beams of the floors of which were lodged

A. C. lodged in them, and wooden poſts fixed in the ground, outſide the walls, to ſupport this airy manſion. Silently in the night, he had theſe ſupporters knocked off, and, as he expected, down fell the houſe, and, with its weight, a part of the wall. A conſiderable breach being thus ſuddenly made, in ruſhed a body of troops, prepared for the purpoſe, who, traverſing the walls, put to the ſword all they met; and then, proceeding to the gates, threw them open for the admiſſion of their companions. The city was ſoon one ſcene of carnage, and the licentious and diſſolute foreigners, glutted themſelves with every ſpecies of cruelty, and partly ſatiated their avarice with the plunder of that commercial city.

The relentleſs Mac Murchad, callous to the feelings of humanity, and, as if to add inſults to the diſtreſſes of the ſurviving citizens, ſent expreſs to Ferns for his daughter Aoſe, whom he immediately after married there to Strongbow, and then had him ſaluted Righ-Damhna, or preſumptive heir to the crown of Leinſter. But love ſpeedily gave way to ambition, and the taking of Dublin (with Waterford and Wexford already in their poſſeſſion) muſt give to Mac Murchad the abſolute command of a conſiderable part of the kingdom. They immediately began to prepare the army for the march, of which the monarch was well apprized, and which called him from his attacks on Thomond. He cauſed all the paſſes and defiles, in the road towards Dublin, to be fortified and manned, and the road itſelf to be broke up in ſeveral places to retard the march of the enemy, whilſt he attended with a reſpectable army to hang over their march, or give them battle, as he judged moſt proper. But the confederates evaded all theſe toils, by taking another and a leſs frequented route; and croſſing the mountains of Glendeloch, got the ſtart of the royal army, and entrenched themſelves near the walls of Dublin, at a time that they thought them

many

many miles from it. The object for which this army A C.
was raiſed, being thus defeated, the different chiefs demanded their diſmiſſion of the monarch, which he was obliged to grant, and ſo leave Dublin expoſed to all the horrors of war and deſolation.

The citizens, who had expected the attack, took every prudent precaution to defend themſelves; and Mac Murchad and Strongbow, who, by the obſtinate defence of Wexford and Waterford, judged that the taking of Dublin muſt coſt much blood, wiſhed to be in poſſeſſion of it on eaſier terms. O'Regan, in the name of his maſter, ſummoned the citizens to ſurrender, and promiſed to preſerve their immunities, and paſs a general act of oblivion for all paſt offences. St. Laurence O'Toole, their archbiſhop, deſirous to avoid the effuſion of blood, exerted his influence to prevail on the burghers to enter into a treaty. A deputation of the citizens, with this moſt venerable prelate at their head, waited on Mac Murchad at the head quarters. Numberleſs difficulties were ſtarted to protract ſigning the capitulation, whilſt Raymond le Groſs, and Miles Cogan, were carefully examining the walls of the city, to find out the moſt likely place of aſſaulting it with ſucceſs; who, as Cambrenſis expreſſes it—"were more earneſt to fight under the banners of Mars in the field, than ſit in the ſenate with "Jupiter in council." Whilſt the deputies were amuſed in the camp, and the burghers, unguarded, impatiently waited their return, the two generals led their troops to the loweſt and leaſt defenſible part of the walls, the ſummits of which a few gained, and theſe were followed by numbers. Notice was given to the camp, of their ſucceſs; the gates were forced open, and in leſs than two hours the city was one ſcene of blood. The cruelty of the ſoldiery could not be reſtrained; houſes were plundered and fired, the citizens butchered in cold blood, and matrons and virgins violated in the ſight of their expiring

A. C piring huſbands and fathers! In the height of this carnage and conflagration, Mac Murchad and Strongbow entered the city in triumph, to enjoy, with their own eyes, the bloody effects of their helliſh machinations; and, as a reward to Cogan, for the unſoldier-like part he acted in this moſt perfidious plot, they created him, on the ſpot, governor of Dublin, and to the ſoldiers they gave the pillage of the town! The 21ſt of September, 1170, was the day of this tremendous maſſacre. In a few days after, Dermod and Strongbow invaded Meath, and burned, deſpoiled, and waſted the country without mercy. Roderic, rouſed from his lethargy, ſent a meſſage to Dermod, menacing the death of his ſon, if he did not immediately withdraw his troops, and atone to O'Ruark for the devaſtations and murders committed in his country; but to this he returned a moſt inſolent anſwer, and, far from allowing himſelf his liege man, he declared he would not lay down his arms until he made all Ireland acknowledge his ſway, and him in particular. Roderic, enraged, had the head of young Art, and two more of Dermod's hoſtages, cut off, and declared war againſt him.

The perfidy, cruelty, and butchery of Mac Murchad and his foreign aſſociates, aſtoniſhed and terrified the whole kingdom. The reader has ſeen the manner in which the Iriſh carried on their domeſtic wars. Every thing was managed above board; armies met on a day appointed, and, by mutual conſent, battles were fought. Treaties of peace were moſt religiouſly obſerved; conqueſts were never followed by cruelties and butcheries; and properties were conſtantly preſerved in families! How could ſuch a people, (indeed any people) guard againſt an enemy devoid of every principle of honour or humanity—who the moſt ſacred ties of religion could not reſtrain? Such were their preſent ones; and Cambrenſis, Stainhurſt, Campion, Hanmer, &c. their own hiſtorians,

hiſtorians, are my evidences. No wonder then, if the aſtoniſhed clergy ſhould aſſemble in council, as they did this winter, under the preſidency of St. Gelaſius the primate, to explore the cauſe of ſuch dreadful maſſacres practiſed by one ſet of Chriſtians againſt another! They concluded them to be permitted by the will of heaven, for their *ſtill* countenancing an unnatural traffic with England, which conſiſted in purchaſing their children and relations as ſlaves! For they were already in perfect accord with Rome in every point of diſcipline. They requeſted of Roderic to aboliſh this cuſtom, and to emancipate theſe Engliſh ſlaves! and this public act proves at once the piety and ſimplicity of the clergy, and the general innocence of manners and piety of the people, which Bede, on a ſimilar occaſion in his own days, acknowledged! A. C.

CHAP. II.

Henry, by proclamation, recalls his ſubjects from Ireland—the ſituation which this, and the death of Mac Murchad, reduces them to—offer a formal ſurrender of their conqueſts to Henry, which he refuſes—Dublin beſieged by Roderic—the garriſon offer to ſubmit and ſurrender—their propoſals rejected—ſurpriſe the camp of the monarch, and diſperſe his troops—the ſiege of Dublin raiſed—Henry receives the ſubmiſſion of Strongbow, and invades Ireland—the princes of Leath-Mogha ſubmit to him—remarks on the parade of Engliſh Writers.

WHILST Dermod, and his aſſociates, thus carried every thing with an high hand, the fame of their exploits was waſted to Aquitain; and Henry, with indignation and jealouſy heard, that, not content with his kingdom of Leinſter, Mac Murchad laid public claim to the monarchy 1171

A. C. 1064 narchy of Ireland, and his ſubject Strongbow was declared preſumptive heir to the crown of Leinſter! He quickly foreſaw that their ſucceſs would endanger the peace of his own dominions, and by throwing the war into Wales, the Welch might again become an independent people, and proclaim the ſound of liberty through the reſt of Briton. A proclamation was, therefore, immediately iſſued forth in the following words, and ſent to Ireland:

"Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy, and "Aquitain, &c."

"We forbid and inhibit, that, from henceforth, no "ſhip from any place of our dominions, ſhall traffic or "paſs into Ireland; and likewiſe charge, that all our "ſubjects, on their duty and allegiance, which are "there commorant, ſhall return from thence into Eng-"land, before Eaſter next following, upon pain of for-"feiture of all their lands, and the perſons ſo diſobey-"ing to be baniſhed our land, and exiled for ever."

It may be eaſily conceived what a mortifying and unexpected blow this muſt prove to the ambitious expectations of Strongbow and his partiſans; but their ſituation became preſently more critical and alarming, when
1171 they heard of the ſickneſs and death of their protector Mac Murchad, in his capital of Ferns. This execrable wretch died a ſhocking ſpectacle to inſatiable and vicious ambition. His body became covered with fœtid ſores: he was attacked with the morbus pedicularis; and he died in the greateſt miſery, without friends, pity, or ſpiritual comfort! This was attended with ſtill worſe conſequences, for it detached Donal O'Brien from this intereſt, who preſently made peace with the monarch, and moſt of the Lagenians themſelves followed the example

ample; however, ſome ſepts of them adhered cloſely to the intereſt of Strongbow. A. C.

In this diſtreſſed ſituation, Strongbow called together his moſt faithful friends, who reſolved on the only expedient which ſound ſenſe could dictate. Raymond le Groſs was diſpatched with the following letter to Henry:

"Moſt puiſſant prince, and my dread Sovereign.

"I came into this land with your majeſty's leave and "favour (as far as I remember) to aid your ſervant Der-"mod Mac Murchad. What I have won was with the "ſword; what is given me, I give you. I am yours, "life and living."

He preſented this letter to Henry, ſtill in Aquitain, but was received with marks of high diſpleaſure; and, after a long attendance, was obliged to return to Ireland without any anſwer. This irreſolution of Henry's is aſcribed to the murder of the archbiſhop of Canterbury about this time; as if the great object of acquiring one of the fineſt iſlands in the world, was to give way to the conſequences attending the death of a prelate, whoſe life had been long devoted to deſtruction! It is an abſurdity to ſuppoſe it; and Henry's behaviour ſhewed how little he attended to the conſequences of it. Henry's irreſolution proceeded from a more important conſideration; to accept the offers of Strongbow was to involve himſelf in a war with Ireland, the iſſue of which might be uncertain, eſpecially now that he was ſo deeply engaged with Rome. When he had procured the bull of Adrian IV. in 1156, his mother charged him to avoid all altercations with Ireland, and he had not forgot this inhibition. The time allowed by his proclamation had now elapſed; Strongbow, and his adherents, were proſcribed in Britain, and their avarice and cruelty made them univerſally deteſted in Ireland. Roderic once more appeared in arms; he ſummoned all his friends and

A. C. allies to his ſtandard, and he reſolved to get rid of this ſet of banditti. Thirty ſhips of war had, for ſome time, guarded the bay of Dublin, to prevent any ſuccours being received by the garriſon; and, at the head of a large army, Roderic appeared on the plains of Dublin. The garriſon were not, in the mean time, idle; they called in all their out-poſts, and they drained their other garriſons, to ſtrengthen that of Dublin. Donal Cavenagh, &c. at the head of a ſelect body of Iriſh, after encountering a variety of dangers, threw himſelf and his men into that city alſo; ſo that Strongbow, Fitz-Gerald, Raymond, Prendergaſt, the Cogans, with their beſt men at arms, were there aſſembled.

Roderic, at length inveſted it in form. The diſpoſition of his troops ſhewed him well verſed in the art of war; and if his vigilance had been equal to his abilities, he would have got a ſpeedy riddance of the foreigners. The head quarters were fixed at Caſtle Knoc, three miles to the weſt of Dublin. O'Ruark and O'Cearuibhil, were poſted at Cluantarff to the north of the Liffey, whilſt O'Cevenagh, ſucceſſor to Mac Murchad in the kingdom of Leinſter, with his Lagenians, occupied the oppoſite ſhore, and O'Brien, and his Mamonians, entrenched themſelves at Kilmainhim. By this diſpoſition, aided by the ſhips in the harbour, they were cut off from all relief, they propoſed taking it by famine; and the blockade continued two months. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, Strongbow called a council of war to deliberate on what ſhould be done, and it was unanimouſly agreed to make a formal ſurrender to Roderic of all their caſtles and ſtrong holds; to render him homage as their lawful ſovereign, and to hold them for the future under him as his vaſſals. They requeſted of St. Laurence O'Toole to carry theſe propoſals to the monarch, and to intercede for them. The holy prelate accepted the commiſſion; they were formally deliberated on, and they were found inadmiſſible.

inadmiſſible. Another prince of the blood of Cathoir-Mor had been elected king of Leinſter; and theſe chiefs whoſe territories had been unlawfully uſurped, now reclaimed them. The only terms that would be granted to the foreigners, were, that, upon condition that they would peaceably ſurrender the city of Dublin, with the ports of Waterford, Wexford, and their other ſtrong holds, by days aſſigned for each, they ſhould then be provided with tranſports to convey them and their effects back to Wales without the leaſt hurt or injury; but if theſe terms, ſo reaſonable and equitable, were not agreed to, then they would ſpeedily prepare for a general aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword. The archbiſhop returned with this anſwer, and, very probably, his own importunities made it ſo favourable. But, alas! What availed theſe conceſſions to the beſieged! They had been already proclaimed traitors in Britain; their natural ſovereign rejected the offers they made him, and gave them up as a people devoted to certain deſtruction. In ſo deplorable a ſituation they took a reſolution worthy gallant men, who had no alternatives but victory or certain ruin. They unanimouſly agreed to make a deſperate ſally, and to fall upon the monarch's own quarters, which, they had reaſon to think, were but careleſsly guarded, eſpecially while this negociation was carrying on. The archbiſhop was in their hands; and while the troops without, and he within, thought they were deliberating on this meſſage, they were every where arming for the ſortie. Before day-light they attacked the monarch's quarters, but certainly with a much larger force than their writers ſet forth. The out-guards, ſupine and careleſs, were eaſily maſtered. They threw themſelves into the camp, and every thing was ſoon in confuſion. The beſiegers concluded that they had received a large ſupply from England, and their ſurpriſe and fear made them magnify the danger. Roderic himſelf, we are told, A. C.

A. C. was at this time preparing for a bath; and, ſo hot was the alarm, that he eſcaped half-dreſſed, and thus ſet the example to his followers. The victorious Britons retreated to the city, loaden with ſpoils and glory; and the Iriſh princes, in imitation of their chief, broke up their camps and marched back to their different territories! Thus the deſperate ſtate of Strongbow's affairs, and the inevitable ruin which ſeemed to await him and his followers, were the very means of his wonderful ſucceſs! Could he have been aſſured of an aſylum in Britain, he would have thought himſelf happy to reach thither, but, cut off from ſuch reſource, he formed the generous reſolution to conquer or die.

The kingdom was once more broke into factions: the irreſolute and temporiſing ſpirit of Roderic loſt him the confidence of the nation, and Donal O'Brien again renounced his authority, and entered into a freſh treaty with his brother-in-law Strongbow. Still we cannot doubt but Strongbow would be glad to be received into the monarch's favour, and render him homage for his territory; and it is a moſt reaſonable preſumption to ſuppoſe that he made new overtures on this head. He could not hope to remain independent; and the probability is, that he would rather hold his dominions by Iriſh tenure, than put himſelf into the power of Henry, whoſe dominion he dreaded, and whoſe hatred to him he was well appriſed of; but Roderic poſſeſſed all the pride and haughtineſs of an Iriſh monarch, without that determined ſpirit ſo neceſſary to ſupport them.

1172 Henry heard with amazement the new change in Strongbow's affairs; he blamed his own timidity for not accepting the tender he made, and the former apprehenſions of his mother he ſaw were imaginary. He repaired to Britain, and made large levies to invade Ireland. He ſent over for Strongbow, received him graciouſly (ſay the Chronicles of North and South Wales), reſtored

reſtored him to his eſtates in England and Normandy, A. C.
and declared him ſteward of Ireland. Whatever might be his inward diſlike to Strongbow, it was his intereſt to ſooth and flatter him, and it was equally the other's to ſeem perſuaded of his good intentions. Thus reciprocal intereſts, without love or ſincerity, brought about a firm coalition between Henry and Strongbow! Their conferences ran on the reduction of Ireland; and, from what Strongbow had already effected, Henry could not doubt but his expedition muſt be crowned with glory. By treaty Henry was to be put in poſſeſſion of Dublin, Waterford, and all the maritime towns which Strongbow held, and he was guaranteed the peaceable tenure of the reſt of his territories.

But whilſt Henry was preparing, during the whole ſummer, for his Iriſh expedition, with aſtoniſhment we behold no attempts whatever to oppoſe his landing, or even to retake any of thoſe cities, ſo neceſſary for the ſecurity of his fleet and army, except an unſucceſsful attack made by O'Ruark on the city of Dublin! But how could it be otherwiſe? Roderic had let ſlip ſeveral opportunities of annihilating his enemies, and every new acceſſion of power to them was a freſh ſource of reproach to him. Under a prince who had loſt the confidence of his people, no vigorous meaſure could be adopted; and thoſe from whom the nation might hope for protection, publicly betrayed its cauſe! The two Munſters, after renouncing the authority of Roderic, entered into treaty with Strongbow; and the event would ſeem to prove, privately encouraged the invaſion of Henry, ſince we behold Mac Carthy and O'Brien the two firſt to render homage to him immediately after his landing!

Every thing being at length prepared, Henry, with a fleet of four hundred ſhips (ſay ſome; with others, but of two hundred and forty), weighed anchor from Milford

A. C. ford Haven, with a fair wind, and in a few hours entered the harbour of Waterford, October the 18th, 1172. His whole force conſiſted of but four hundred knights and four thouſand men at arms. On his landing, Strongbow kneeling, preſented him the keys of that city, and putting his hands cloſed into thoſe of Henry, did him homage for his kingdom of Leinſter. *The very next day* Dermod Mac Carthy preſented him the keys of his capital city of Cork, and rendered him homage as monarch of Ireland. After a few days repoſe, Henry marched his army to Liſmore, where he reſted two days, and from thence proceeded to Caſhell, at which city he was waited upon by Donal O'Brien, prince of Thomond, who tendered to Henry the keys of his capital of Limeric, and did him homage as his ſovereign; and his example was ſoon after followed by Fitz-Patrick, prince of Oſſory, O'Felan chief of the Deaſies, and other princes. When Henry arrived at Caſhell, he there produced the bull of Adrian IV. confirmed by his ſucceſſor Alexander III. by which the ſovereignty of Ireland was transferred from its natural princes to this ſtranger. At his deſire a ſynod of the clergy was immediately ſummoned to meet there, and deliberate on the admiſſibility of the bull, in which Chriſtian, biſhop of Liſmore, as legate, was to preſide; but, in the next chapter, we ſhall give an account of this bull, and the reſult of the council held thereon. In the mean time it may not be amiſs to advert to the vain and ridiculous parade of Engliſh writers, and their Iriſh aſſociates, with reſpect to this prince. We are told that his army proceeded in ſlow and ſolemn marches through the country, in order to ſtrike the rude inhabitants with the ſplendor and magnificence of their proceſſion; and we have been already entertained with the terror which the appearance of Fitz-Stephens, and his armed forces, impreſſed on the natives, *who had never beheld the like!* Aſſertions of this kind, indeed, might

might appear plauſible, had this people dwelt on the other ſide the Atlantic; but when a brave and poliſhed people were the ſubjects, the futility of the aſſertion diverts our thoughts from choler to contempt! The reader has been already ſufficiently acquainted with the diſtinguiſhed figure which the Iriſh nation cut in arts and arms. He has heard how remarkably attentive they were to the article of their armour; that their corſlets and head-pieces were ornamented with gold; that the handles of their ſwords were of the ſame metal, and the ſhields of the knights, and of the nobility, were moſtly of pure gold and ſilver! He has been informed that their heavy-armed infantry were caſed in armour from head to foot; and he muſt be convinced, that the equeſtrian orders among the Celtæ of Europe originated from hence! Yet, in oppoſition to ſuch ſtubborn facts, Britiſh writers have never once bluſhed for impoſing ſuch falſhoods on Europe! It were even an abſurdity to ſuppoſe (though we wanted theſe evidences) that a rich and commercial nation, conſtantly in arms againſt each other, ſhould want ſuch neceſſary appendages. Did they not wage conſtant war with the Danes for more than two centuries, and (what is more than can be ſaid for either England or France) never laid down their arms until they expelled them the kingdom? And had they no other opportunities? muſt we not ſuppoſe that they would borrow from them the uſe of ſo obvious a protection? They contributed largely, by their blood and treaſures, to the conqueſt of the Holy Land; and the noble endowments for the knights Hoſpitallers by Turlogh O'Connor, Connor O'Brien, and other Iriſh princes (the viſible remains of many of which proclaim the magnificence and piety of theſe days) ſufficiently prove this. Muſt not theſe knights and adventurers to the Holy Land have learned the uſe of armour, ſhould we ſuppoſe it unknown before? And could the ſight of a few needy A. C.

Welſhmen,

A. C. Welſhmen, of deſperate lives and fortunes, ſtrike the Iriſh with terror and amazement? or could the parade of an army of four or five thouſand men be ſuch a novelty to them, who frequently ſaw their own princes, in all the pomp of royalty, at the head of thirty or forty thouſand? Inveſtigations of this kind are part of the province of hiſtory, and the candid and generous Britons of modern days will, I flatter myſelf, be pleaſed to ſee proper juſtice done to a nation with whom they are ſo cloſely linked by affinity and intereſt.

CHAP. III.

Synod of Caſhell—the bulls of Adrian and Alexander—complained of by Iriſh writers, and ſuppoſed ſpurious—real bulls—the reaſons that induced Adrian to grant a bull to Henry—why it lay concealed for ſixteen years—Ireland ſacrificed to unite Alexander and Henry—the conduct of Alexander not to be juſtified—Cambrenſis's account of the acts of the council of Caſhell expoſed—accept of the bulls—the letter of O'Ruark, for ſtyle, language, and ſentiment, infinitely ſuperior to what is contained in thoſe bulls.

THE ſynod of Caſhell was ſplendid and numerous. Beſides the legate, there appeared the archbiſhops of Munſter, Leinſter, and Connaught, with their ſuffragans, many mitred abbots and inferior clergy. The bull of Adrian IV. was then produced; of which here follows a copy:

"Adrian biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to "his deareſt ſon in Chriſt, the illuſtrious king of "England, greeting, and apoſtolical benediction.

"Full laudably and profitably hath your magnificence "conceived the deſign of propagating your glorious re-

"nown

A. C.

" nown on earth, and completing your reward of eter-
" nal happineſs in heaven; whilſt, as a catholic prince
" you are intent on enlarging the borders of the church,
" teaching the truth of the Chriſtian faith to the igno-
" rant and rude, extirpating the roots of vice from the
" field of the Lord; and for the more convenient exe-
" cution of this purpoſe, requiring the counſel and fa-
" vour of the apoſtolic ſee: in which, the maturer your
" deliberation, and the greater the diſcretion of your
" procedure, by ſo much the happier we truſt will be
" your progreſs with the aſſiſtance of the Lord; as all
" things are uſed to come to a proſperous end and iſſue,
" which take their beginning from the ardour of faith
" and the love of religion.

" There is, indeed, no doubt but that Ireland, and
" all the iſlands on which Chriſt, the ſun of righteouſ-
" neſs, hath ſhone, and which have received the doc-
" trine of the Chriſtian faith, do belong to the juriſdic-
" tion of St. Peter and the holy Roman church, as
" your excellency alſo doth acknowledge; and there-
" fore we are the more ſolicitous to propagate the righ-
" teous plantation of faith in this land, and the branch
" acceptable to God, as we have the ſecret conviction
" of conſcience that this is more eſpecially our bounden
" duty. You then, my dear ſon in Chriſt, have ſigni-
" fied to us your deſire to enter into the iſland of Ireland,
" in order to reduce the people to obedience unto the
" laws, and to extirpate the plants of vice; and that
" you are willing to pay from each a yearly penſion of
" one penny to St. Peter, and that you will preſerve the
" rights of the churches of this land whole and invio-
" late. We, therefore, with that grace and acceptance
" ſuited to your pious and laudable deſign, and favour-
" ably aſſenting to your petition, do hold it good and
" acceptable, that, for extending the borders of the
" church, reſtraining the progreſs of vice, for the cor-

" rection

A. C. " rection of manners, the planting of virtue, and the " encreaſe of religion, you enter this iſland, and execute " therein whatever ſhall pertain to the honour of God " and welfare of the land; and that the people of this " land receive you honourably, and reverence you as their " lord, the rights of their churches ſtill remaining ſa- " cred and inviolate, and ſaving to St. Peter the annual " penſion of one penny from every houſe.

" If then you be reſolved to carry the deſign you " have conceived into effectual execution, ſtudy to form " this nation to virtue and manners, and labour by " yourſelf, and others you ſhall judge meet for this " work, in faith, word, and life, that the church may " be there adorned, that the religion of the Chriſtian " faith may be planted and grow up, and that all things " pertaining to the honour of God, and the ſalvation of " ſouls be ſo ordered, that you may be entitled to the " fulneſs of heavenly reward from God, and obtain a " glorious renown on earth through all ages. Given at " Rome in the year of ſalvation 1166."

Next was read the bull of his ſucceſſor, Alexander III. confirming the above donation of Adrian, to the following effect:

" Alexander, biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, " to his moſt dear ſon in Chriſt, the illuſtrious " king of England, health and apoſtolical bene- " diction.

" Foraſmuch as theſe things which have been on " good reaſons granted by our predeceſſors, deſerve to " be confirmed in the fulleſt manner; and conſidering " the grant of the dominion of the realm of Ireland by " the venerable pope Adrian, we, purſuing his foot- " ſteps, do ratify and confirm the ſame (reſerving to St. " Peter, and to the holy Roman church, as well in " England

" England as in Ireland, the yearly penſion of one penny A. C.
" from every houſe), provided that the abominations of
" the land being removed, that barbarous people, Chriſ-
" tians only in name, may, by your means, be reformed,
" and their lives and converſation mended, ſo that their
" diſordered church being thus reduced to regular diſ-
" cipline, that nation may, with the name of Chriſtians,
" be ſo in act and deed. Given at Rome in the year of
" ſalvation 1172."

Our writers complain loudly of the injuſtice and want of foundation in the charges exhibited in the above bulls, they mention the flouriſhing ſtate of religion and letters in this very age, in which no leſs than three of our prelates were afterwards canonized by Rome, namely, Celſus and Malachie, ſucceſſors in the ſee of Ardmagh, and St. Laurence O'Toole, archbiſhop of Dublin. They recite with theſe the names of a Chriſtian, a Gelaſius, a Malchus, a Maurice &c. &c. prelates of moſt exalted virtue and learning. It had been better for the nation that they could have mentioned a Brien, a Cineidi, a Ceallachan, &c. who, with the ſword, would at once cut through the faſcination! In their zeal for the honour of the church they contend, that becauſe theſe bulls were unjuſt, that they were therefore forged; as if popes, in their temporal capacities, were exempt from human depravities; and, as if acts of injuſtice exerciſed by them affected the religion, not the perſons!

We have every reaſon to think them genuine. They were publiſhed, in the life-time of Alexander, by Cambrenſis, who, though in moſt inſtances, a man as devoid of truth and candour as any that ever took up the pen, yet would not preſume, on the preſent occaſion, to publiſh a bull as Alexander's, if he was not well authoriſed ſo to do; and the authenticity of this confirms that of the other. Add to this, that the effects they produced

A. C. duced on the preſent aſſembly, and, through their influence, on the nation, is a proof, not to be controverted, of their reality. How much it reſtrained the hands of the Iriſh, not only upon this, but upon future occaſions, we may infer from the following remarkable words in a memorial from O'Neill, king of Ulſter, preſented in 1330, to John, the twenty-ſecond pope of Rome, in the name of the Iriſh nation: "During the "courſe of ſo many ages, (3000 years) our ſovereigns "preſerved the independency of their country; attacked "more than once by foreign powers, they wanted nei- "ther force nor courage to repel the bold invaders; "but that which they dared to do againſt force, *they "could not againſt the ſimple decree of one of your predeceſ- "ſors.* Adrian, &c *."

The validity of theſe bulls I think cannot be doubted: it only remains to know how they were procured, and why bulls granted at ſuch diſtances from each other, and for the ſame purpoſe, ſhould appear at one and the ſame time? This inveſtigation will be at the ſame time a refutation of the arguments offered againſt them. Adrian was by birth an Engliſhman, the ſpurious offſpring of a prieſt; deſerted by his father, he repaired to Paris, and was there inſtructed in philoſophy and divinity, by Marianus O'Gormon, profeſſor of the ſeven liberal ſciences (ſo he is ſtyled) as he himſelf acknowledges †. In 1154, he was raiſed to the pontificate; and ſome time after Henry II. was proclaimed king of England, he ſent a formal embaſſy to congratulate the new pope on his elevation. This mark of attention in Henry, was highly pleaſing to Adrian. A ſtrict friendſhip aroſe between them, and this encouraged the young king, whoſe ambition was boundleſs, to requeſt a grant of the kingdom of Ireland from the pope. It was a flattering

* Scota Chronicon, vol. iii. p. 908, &c. † Grat. Luc. p. 164.

circumſtance

circumſtance to him as pontiff, as it was acknowledging A. C.
the power aſſumed by the ſee of Rome, of diſpoſing of kingdoms and empires. He by this means gratified the deſire of aggrandizing his native country, added a freſh acceſſion of wealth and power to Rome, and rendered a mighty prince one of her tributaries. Such were the reaſons that prevailed on Adrian, to grant the kingdom of Ireland to Henry. Whether he had a power to make this donation, and if he had, whether it was juſt ſo to do, were objects which never once employed his thoughts. That it lay concealed for ſixteen years, is granted; during which time every action of Henry's life ſhewed how little diſpoſed he was to be thought a champion of the church, and of courſe what little reliance he had on the force of this bull. We have ſeen Mac Murchad apply to him in 1168, and it is affirmed, that he offered to hold the kingdom of Leinſter under him, provided he aſſiſted in re-eſtabliſhing him on that throne. In 1171, Strongbow and his followers made a formal ſurrender of it to him, which he abſolutely refuſed; but, ſay the panegyriſts of this prince, it was becauſe that they had preſumed to invade a country, which he intended to conquer! Was ever a more weak and ridiculous reaſon ſtarted? But if he not only rejected this offer of his own ſubjects in 1171, but even proſcribed them; how account for his gladly accepting it in 1172, and receiving them back to grace and favour? Is it, that theſe gentlemen ſuppoſe their readers void of ſenſe and reflection, when they preſume to advance abſurdities; or that time gives a ſanction to ill-founded aſſertions?

The truth of the matter is: Ireland, though divided into factions, and, as we have ſeen, not governed by monarchs legally choſen for above a hundred and fifty years, yet ſtill appeared formidable and reſpectable in the eyes of Europe. They revered the nation, who not only

A. C. only preſerved her independency in the height of Roman deſpotiſm, but continued to break the ſhackles with which ſhe fettered the reſt of Europe; they admired her noble and ſucceſsful efforts againſt the Danes, to the total expulſion of that people; and they could not forget that to the piety and learning of her ſons, they were indebted for the revival of letters. It was not want of inclination, but a dread of the power that was to oppoſe him, that made Henry ſo backward to engage in the cauſe of Mac Murchad, and afterwards of Strongbow. But when he beheld this laſt, contrary to all expectations, by his valour, not only able to extricate himſelf from the dangers with which he was environed, but alſo to re-eſtabliſh himſelf in his kingdom of Leinſter, he became convinced that he counted more on the power of the Iriſh than he ought. The ſame reaſons that made him for ſo many years a perſecutor of the church and the clergy (INTEREST), now pointed out to him a contrary courſe. He had completed the rupture with Rome, by the murder of the famous Thomas à Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who fell by the hands of his aſſaſſins at the very altar, the 29th of December 1170. His name was execrated over all Europe; at Rome it was dangerous to mention it. He was to have been excommunicated there on Holy Thurſday 1171, but that his deputies BOLDLY SWORE, that the murder of Thomas was without his participation, which ſuſpended it for a time; but his territories on the continent remained under interdict, and the excommunication of the Engliſh biſhops in full force; and yet at this time and under theſe difficulties, ſome have aſſerted that Alexander confirmed the donation of Adrian in conſequence of a requeſt from the Iriſh clergy *! Early in the year 1172, Henry repaired to England, to be nearer at hand to attend the

* Fleury Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xv. f. 383.

affairs

affairs of Ireland, which now ſeemed to demand his more particular notice. Here he received advice, that the legates from Rome had arrived in Normandy to hear his defence, and in conſequence of it, either to exculpate or excommunicate him for the murder of Thomas à Becket. How much this new apoſtle of Ireland regarded in his heart theſe anathema, may be collected from this anſwer to a couple of cardinals, who two years before this had threatened him with a ſimilar compliment—"By the "eyes of God (his common oath, ſays he) I neither re- "gard you or your excommunications, any more than I do "an egg!" But it was his preſent intereſt to be on good terms with the pope, as he hoped by getting his confirmation of Adrian's bull of donation, to make the reduction of Ireland (now open to him) on eaſier terms. He therefore repaired to Normandy to meet the legates; but though he affected to deſpiſe the cenſures of the church, yet he ſeemed to pay greater regard to an oath than the reverend advocates he ſent to Rome, who there ſwore in his name (and as if by his directions, though it appears they had none from him) that he was innocent of the death of Thomas. The legates demanded his own oath, as a confirmation of what they had depoſed, and which was the condition on which the excommunication was delayed; but this he not only refuſed to comply with, but abruptly quitted the aſſembly. He had two years before this, declared, not only his contempt of Rome, but obliged his Engliſh ſubjects of all ages to renounce their obedience to her; and the legates did not wiſh to puſh him to greater extremities. They ſent a meſſage to Henry, by the biſhops of Lizieux and Saliſbury, and the archdeacon of Poitiers, his particular confidents, by whom he was prevailed upon to give another meeting to the legates. Here he not only took the oath required of him, but freely ſubſcribed to every article they thought fit to impoſe upon him, to the great aſtoniſhment of every body, but the few who were in the ſecret. I do A.C.

ſuppoſe

A. C. 1172 ſuppoſe *(and I think the event makes it certain)* that the real cauſe of this wonderful reformation, was, a promiſe, in caſe of his compliance, of having the bull of Adrian confirmed, but otherwiſe to have it reverſed, and ſo unite all Ireland againſt him. In the September following, four months after this agreement, Henry attended the council of Avranches, where, he renewed all his oaths; and then, I take for granted, and there, he was preſented with Alexander's bull. For it is agreed on all hands, that the union between the pope and the king happened this year; and it is alſo as certain, that it was the October following that he landed in Ireland; and, in all appearance, it was the waiting for this bull (which bore the date of 1172) that made his departure for that iſland ſo late in the ſeaſon, from which he did not return until the ſpring of 1173. Thus, attending to dates and circumſtances, renders all theſe affairs, ſo ſeemingly intricate and difficult, quite clear. It explains the reaſons that made Henry ſo cautious of meddling in Iriſh affairs, until he found Strongbow firmly eſtabliſhed there; it accounts for the ſudden alteration of his conduct to this nobleman, as well as to Alexander's legates; and it at the ſame time removes all the objections of Iriſh writers, to the validity of this and the former bull; for can any thing appear more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe that Henry, under the ſanction of Rome, would attempt to invade Ireland, whilſt her thunder was ready to be launched againſt himſelf? That he ſhould conquer under her auſpices abroad, whilſt ſhe was juſt ready to ſtrip him of his own dominions at home?

But, to every man of principle, the conduct of Alexander and of his miniſters, viewed in the moſt favourable light, muſt appear hypocritical and abominable to the laſt degree! Let us ſuppoſe him to have an abſolute dominion over Ireland, and that the natives were the very people he has deſcribed them to be; was Henry, a prince

a prince notoriously devoid of religion, a persecutor of the church and clergy, cruel and vindictive in his public character, and dissolute in private life; was this prince, surrounded with satellites, a proper person to send, to reform the church and people of Ireland? But, if Alexander and his predecessors had not the smallest shadow of right whatever to the dominions of Ireland, as they most certainly had not; and if the people were the very reverse of what he paints them, as they most assuredly were; what can be offered in defence of the conduct of this *Father of the Christian world?* A. C.

But to return to the council of Cashel, of whose acts I can trace no accounts, but such as are delivered by Cambrensis, who tells us, that, after accepting of the bulls, they proceeded to the reformations so much wanted—"Which were to make them Christians in "effect as well as in name, and which were to bring "back their church from disorder and anarchy, to re-"gular discipline."—This reform is reduced to eight articles; the first enjoins, that the people shall not marry with their close kindred. 2. The children shall be catechised outside the church-door, and infants baptised at the font. 3. The laity shall pay tithes. 4. The possessions of the church shall be free from temporal exactions. 5. The clergy to be exempt from Eric, or retribution, on account of murder, or other crimes committed by their relations. 6. Directs the manner of disposing by will of the effects of a dying man. 7. Enjoins burial to the dead. And the 8th directs, that divine service should be for the future performed in Ireland, in every particular according to the English church; "for it is "meet and just, *says the immaculate Gerald*, that as Ire-"land hath by Providence received a lord and king from "England, so she may receive from the same, a better "form of living! For to his royal grandeur are both the "church and realm of Ireland indebted for whatever

A. C. "they have hitherto obtained, either of the benefit of "peace, or the encreaſe of religion; ſince before his "coming into Ireland evils of various kinds had, from "old times, gradually overſpread the land, which by his "power and goodneſs are now aboliſhed."

Of theſe wonderful reformations of Henry—"*for the "benefit of peace, and the encreaſe of religion,*" the reader will eaſily perceive, that the two firſt articles, are merely for parade; as to the third, which enjoins tithes, I am to remark, that ſo exact were the Iriſh in this article, from the days of St. Patrick, that they not only gave up cheerfully to the church the tenth of their corn and cattle, but even devoted the tenth child to the ſervice of God! As to the fourth and fifth articles, which exonerate the church and clergy from temporal laws, we have ſeen them the firſt things agreed to in the council of Uiſneach, ſixty one years before the convening of this council of Caſhell! As to the ſixth, or power of diſpoſing of effects; the cuſtom of making wills was practiſed in Ireland long before the introduction of Chriſtianity, and was always continued; remarkable inſtances of which we have exhibited in both periods. As to the ſeventh article, which regards the burial of the dead, it was a ſolemnity in all ages, even to my own memory, religiouſly attended to in Ireland. As in the days of Druidiſm, ſo in thoſe of Chriſtianity, people were ſet apart, whoſe duty it was, in a ſoft but melancholy tone, to recite the pedigree, virtuous actions, noble exploits, and liberal endowments of the deceaſed, in a ſpecies of verſe called Caoine. The funeral was magnificent, and the attendants numerous; for all the family, friends, and connections of the deceaſed, failed not to appear. From the whole it is evident, that whatever were the reſolves of this council, or whatever reforms they made, could not be theſe recited by Cambrenſis, theſe are certainly the product of his own ſertile brain; for it muſt appear highly ridiculous,

culous to behold a number of learned and grave divines, A. C.
meet to form articles for church government, which had been long before agreed and ſubſcribed to! But Gerald wanted ſome pretence to juſtify the bulls of Adrian and Alexander, and his maſter's uſurpation. That the clergy aſſembled, accepted theſe bulls, is what I am ready to believe; and this is all that Henry wiſhed or cared for. Cambrenſis tells us, St. Gelaſius, archbiſhop of Ardmagh, did not attend this meeting, being indiſpoſed; but our own annals affirm, that at this time he convened an aſſembly of the clergy of Leth-Cuin, in which he preſided under the auſpices of Roderic, and probably (as Dr. Leland obſerves), in oppoſition to that of Henry. So that, upon the whole, it appears evident, that Henry did no acquire, at this time, the abſolute government of Ireland, as his flatterers have vainly aſſerted, but the ſovereignty of Leath-Mogha, or ſouthern Ireland only.

I have, in Chapter VIII. of the preceding Book, given the letter of O'Ruark to the monarch, complaining of, and demanding juſtice for the violation of his wife—(the ſource of the preſent revolution)—in the original Latin, with a tranſlation; and I ſhall cloſe this chapter with the bulls of Adrian and Alexander in their native Latin coverings. The difference in civilization and in the cultivation of the fine arts between Rome and Ireland, at this time, cannot ſurely be exhibited in livelier colours than by comparing the ſtyle, ſentiment, and language, in the letter of this Iriſh prince, with thoſe in the bulls of theſe pontiffs:

" Adrianus epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, chariſſi-
" mo in Chriſto filio illuſtri Anglorum regi, ſalutem
" & apoſtolicam benedictionem.

" Laudabiliter et ſatis fructuosè de glorioſo nomine
" propagando in terris, et eternæ felicitatis præmio cu-
" mulando in cœlis tua magnificentia cogitat, dum ad di-

A. C. " latandos ecclesiæ terminos, ad declarandum indoctis,
" et rudibus populis Christianæ fidei veritatem et vitio-
" rum plantaria de agro dominico extirpanda, sicut catho-
" licus princeps intendis, et ad id convenientius exe-
" quendum, consilium apostolicæ sedis exigis, et favorem,
" in quo facto quanto altiore consilio, et majori discre-
" tione procedis, anto in eo feliciorem progressum te
" (præstante dominó) confidimus habiturum, eo quod
" ad bonum exitum semper et finem solent attingere, quæ
" de ardore fidei et religionis amore principium acceperunt.
" Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas, qui sol justitiæ Chris-
" tus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt,
" ad jus beati Petri, et sacro sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ
" (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium
" pertinere, unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem
" fidelem, et germen gratum Dea inserimus, quanto id
" à nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus exigen-
" dum significasti quidem nobis (fili in Christo charis-
" sime) te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum popu-
" lum legibus, et vitiorum, plantaria inde extirpanda,
" velle intrare, et de singulis domibus annuam unius
" denarii, beato Petro velle solvere pensionem, et jura
" ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata, et integra conservare:
" nos itaque pium et laudibile desiderium tuum cum fa-
" vore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ benignum
" impendentes assensum gratum et acceptum habemus,
" ut (pro dilatandis ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum re-
" stringendo decursu, pro corrigendis moribus, et virtuti-
" bus inserendis, pro religionis Christianæ augmento)
" insulam illam ingrediaris et quæ ad honorem Dei, et
" salutem illius terræ spectaverint exequaris; et illius terræ
" populus honorificè te recipiat, et sicut dominum ve-
" neretur; jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato, et integro
" permanente, et salvâ beato Petro, et sacrosanctâ Ro-
" manâ ecclesiâ de singulis domibus annuâ unius denarii
" pensione. Si ergo quod concepisti animo, effectu dux-

" eris

A. C.

" eris profequente compendium, ſtude gentem illam " bonis moribus informare; et agas (tam per te quam " per illos quos ad hoc fide, verbo et vita idoneos eſſe " perſpexeris) ut decoretur ibi eccleſia, plantetur et " creſcat fidei Chriſtianæ religio, et ad honorem Dei et " ſalutem pertinet animarum, per te aliter ordinentur " ut a Deo ſempiternæ mercedis cumulum conſequi " mercaris, et in terris glorioſum nomen valeas in ſæculis " obtinere. Datum Romæ, annò ſalutis 1156."

" Alexander epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, chariſ-
" ſimo in filio, illuſtri Anglorum rege, ſalutem et
" apoſtolicam benedictionem.

" Quoniam ea quæ à predeceſſoribus noſtris rationabi-
" liter indulta noſcuntur, perpetuâ merentur ſtabilita-
" tefir mari; venerabilis Adriani papæ veſtigiis inhæren-
" tes, noſtrique deſiderii fructum attendentes conceſſio-
" nem ejuſdem ſuper Hibernici regni dominio vobis indul-
" to (ſalva beato Petro et ſacro ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ,
" ſicut in Angliâ ſic etiam in Hiberniâ, de ſingulis domi-
" bus annua unius denarii penſione) ratam habemus, et
" confirmamus, quatenus *eleminatis terræ ipſius ſpurcitiis,*
" *barbara natio, quæ Chriſtiano cenſetur nomine, veſtrâ indul-*
" *gentiâ morum induat venuſtatem, et redacta in formam hacte-*
" *nus in formi finium illorùm eccleſiâ, gens ea per vos Chriſ-*
" *tianæ profeſſionis nomen cum effectu de cetero conſequatur.*
" Datum Romæ, an. ſal. 1172.

CHAP.

A. C.

CHAP. IV.

Henry acknowledged as ſovereign of Leath-Mogha—Leth-Cuin ſtill an independent kingdom—Henry neither conquered Ireland nor eſtabliſhed a new code of laws there—ſome ſimilarity between the Iriſh revolution in 1172, *and the Engliſh one in* 1688—*Engliſh and Iriſh accounts of the peace at Windſor in* 1175—*proofs from both, that foreign laws were not attempted to be introduced—ſeveral proofs of the inſincerity of early Engliſh writers—real force and extent of Poyning's famous reſtraining law—neceſſity of recurring to the ancient conſtitution in inquiries of this kind—extent of the Engliſh mode of legiſlation to the reign of James I.*

HENRY II. by the public ſubmiſſions of the princes of Munſter, Leinſter, Oſſory, and the Deaſies, through the influence of the Iriſh clergy, became ſovereign of Leath-Mogha; ſtill Roderic, and the province of Ulſter, made no kind of advances towards an union with him. We are, however, told, that Henry ſent Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, as his ambaſſadors, to Roderic, who then lay encamped, with his army, on the banks of the Shannon, ready to oppoſe any attempts on his territories, that a peace was concluded on, and that Roderic did him homage by proxy, ſwore allegiance, and put hoſtages into his hands. There is not the leaſt record of Iriſh hiſtory to countenance this aſſertion; and his conduct the next year (particularly in defeating Strongbow, and cutting off one thouſand eight hundred of his beſt troops) and even until the peace ſolemnly made at Windſor in 1175, prove he made no ſuch ſubmiſſion.

Though at the head of a royal army, and ſupported by Munſter and Leinſter, yet Henry made no hoſtile attempts

tempts whatever to extend his power over the other provinces of Ireland! Still, by the modeſt Gerald, is he ſtyled *conqueror of Ireland*, and in this he is followed by all ſubſequent writers; but the candid reader will ſee with how little juſtice! We are alſo told, that, with their ſubmiſſion, the Iriſh ſurrendered their laws and cuſtoms, and agreed to be governed by thoſe of England. But what has been left unſaid, that falſhood, malice, or ignorance could ſuggeſt? Were we to ſuppoſe the Iriſh deſtitute of any rational mode of legiſlation (as from the bulls of Adrian and Alexander might juſtly be inferred) ſuch alteration might be neceſſary, and ſeemed a part of the conditions on which theſe bulls were granted; but if a reverence for ſtrict juſtice, and an amenableneſs to the laws, be proofs of ſound legiſlation (as ſurely they are) then were their own modes of judicature founded upon principles of the ſtricteſt equity. The bad conduct of Henry himſelf, and of thoſe he left behind him, could impreſs no advantageous ideas in them of the ſuperior excellence of the Engliſh laws. So late as the days of Henry VIII. baron Finglas confeſſes *, "That the Engliſh "ſtatutes, paſſed in Ireland, are not obſerved eight days "after paſſing them; whereas thoſe laws and ſtatutes, "made by the Iriſh on their hills, they kept firm and "ſtable, *without breaking through them for any favour or "reward!*" Nay, ſo diſſolute and immoral were the conduct of moſt of theſe ſtrangers, that we find ſynods aſſembled in the Iriſh countries, and ordinances paſſed, to cut off every kind of connection with their Engliſh neighbours, leſt their examples ſhould corrupt the morals of the people! Their rapacity, and want of principle, were ſo notorious, that they became reduced to an Iriſh proverb— A. C.

* Breviate of Ireland.

A.C.

Na bi common ne fear-Galoa: ma nit i faibe duit. Beid cosce ar tid do mbeatta: common an fir Galoa riut.

That is, "Have no confidence in an Engliſhman: if you "do, 'tis worſe for you; he will ever lie in wait for your "life: that is the friendſhip of an Engliſhman for you."

There is not then in hiſtory a fact more certain, or better authenticated, than this: "*That the Iriſh received* "*no laws whatever, from Henry or from any of his ſucceſſors* "*kings of England, but were conſtantly governed by the an-* "*cient feudal laws of Ireland, until the reign of James I.*" And this, at once, puts the nature of Henry's real power out of doubt. Through the influence of the Iriſh clergy, directed ſo by theſe bulls, the Iriſh of Leath Mogha paid Henry the ſame homage they would to a natural ſovereign. It was not as king of England, but as a chief of Ireland, they regarded him. As ſuch he could not ſurely alter theſe eſtabliſhed laws, which he was ſworn to ſupport and protect. He did not attempt to alter them, nor did any of his ſucceſſors to the above time; and then, BY CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, did the kingdom form for themſelves a mode of government ſimilar to that of England.

Certain it is, that Henry introduced the Engliſh form of government among his own followers, which was adopted by ſome and rejected by others, and finally confined to what was called the *Pale*, which did not comprehend the twentieth part of the kingdom. Not only the old, but the new Iriſh, adhered to the old conſtitution in every other part of the kingdom. To offer proofs of this, would be idle, becauſe the very laws paſſed from time to time, *in the little ſenates of the Pale*, ſufficiently acknowledge this. That theſe ancient laws were founded upon the ſtricteſt equity, we may conclude from the

the characters given by *the firſt Engliſh judges* (who went circuits into Iriſh counties) of the natives, Sir John Davis, attorney-general *, tells us, from his own knowledge, "That there is no nation under the ſun "that love equal and indifferent juſtice better than the "Iriſh, or will reſt better ſatisfied with the execution "thereof, although it be againſt themſelves!" This honourable teſtimony was given immediately after a fifteen years bloody war, carried on with uncommon cruelty, by the troops of Elizabeth: and lord Coke, about this time, treating of the laws of Ireland, has the following remarkable words; "For I have been informed by many "of them that have had judicial places there, and "*partly of mine own knowledge*, that there is no nation of "the Chriſtian world that are greater lovers of juſtice "than they are, which virtue muſt, of neceſſity, be ac-"companied by many others †!" A. C.

How then can writers affirm that Henry made ſheriffs and judges itinerant, with other miniſters of juſtice and officers of ſtate, according to the laws of England? If he made them, nothing is more certain than that they were appointments unknown or unattended to by the Iriſh, not only during his reign, but for four hundred years after! The ſhortneſs of his time in Ireland is alſo regretted, as it thereby prevented him from completing the reforms he intended. We find, however, that his ſtay was near ſix months, during which time nothing remarkable happened, except the acknowledging of him as king of Leath-Mogha, and a fatal plague which followed ſoon after, by which thouſands periſhed! It is through aſſertions, vague and ill-founded as the above, unſupported by truth or hiſtorical facts, that Engliſh writers of later date, even to the preſent times, have conſtantly deemed Ireland a kingdom ſubordinate to

* Hiſtory of Ireland. † Coke's Inſtitutes, chap. lxxvi.

Britain,

A. C. Britain, and *even bound by her acts*, when Ireland is expreſsly mentioned *. It is from the ſame muddy ſource affirmed, that the Iriſh ſolemnly ſwore, at the council of Liſmore, held by Henry, to receive and obey the laws of England. Now nothing is more certain, than that no council was aſſembled at Liſmore by this prince. The miſtake aroſe from the biſhop of Liſmore's preſiding as legate in the council of Caſhel; and the aſſertion, from Cambrenſis, telling us, *that at this council the Iriſh clergy agreed to have, for the future, the rites of their church in exact conformity with thoſe of the Britiſh.*

There is ſomething ſimilar in the nature of this Iriſh revolution in 1172, and the Engliſh one in 1688. In both caſes religion was made the pretence, and many of the clergy exerted themſelves to bring about the changes that followed. Both princes were foreigners, and thought their PIOUS DISINTERESTED INTENTIONS not the worſe for being ſupported by the ſword. William, and ſome of his miniſters, looked upon his poſſeſſing the crown of England to be by the right of conqueſt; nay, they boldly aſſerted it! Henry's miniſters and panegyriſts affirmed the ſame with reſpect to Ireland, and yet with infinitely leſs appearance of reaſon. The kingdom of England, *at once*, confeſſed the ſovereignty of William; but half Ireland only acknowledged the power of Henry. William's terms were with the people at large, Henry's with the feudatory princes, who ſtill preſerved their power over their ſubjects. In 1175 peace was concluded between Roderic's miniſters on the one ſide (to wit, Catholicus, archbiſhop of Tuam, St. Lawrence O'Toole, archbiſhop of Dublin, the abbot of St. Brandon, and doctor Laurence, chaplain and chancellor to the king of Connaught) and thoſe of Henry on the other, at Windſor. The terms of this peace and concord, as delivered by

* Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 99, 100, &c.

Britiſh

Britiſh writers, prove that there was neither a conqueſt or an alteration of the laws, even pretended to, by Henry or his miniſters. The whole is compriſed in four articles, by the preliminary to which, and by the peace itſelf, it will plainly appear to be a compact between two princes, without any terms or conditions for the ſubject whatever. It runs thus : A. C.

"Hic eſt finis et concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windſore in octabis Sancti Michaelis, anno gratiæ 1175, inter dominum regem Angliæ Henricum II. et Rodericum regem Conaciæ, per Catholicum Tuamenſem archiepiſcopum, et abbatem C. Sancti Brandani, et Magiſtrum Laurentium cancellarium regis Conaciæ."

By the firſt article, on Roderic's agreeing to do homage to Henry (which, if he did, it muſt be certainly by proxy) and to pay him a certain tribute, he was to poſſeſs his kingdom of Conaught in as full and ample a manner as before Henry's entering that kingdom. By the ſecond article Henry engages to ſupport and defend the king of Conaught, in his territories, with all his force and power in Ireland, provided he pays to Henry every tenth merchantable hide through the kingdom. The third excepts from this condition all ſuch domains as are poſſeſſed by Henry himſelf and by his barons; as Dublin with its liberties, Meath, with all its domains, in as full a manner as it was poſſeſſed by O'Mealſachlin, or thoſe deriving under him; Wexford, with all Leinſter; Waterford, with all its domain, as far as Dungarvan, which, with its territory, is alſo to be excluded from this taxation. Fourth: Such Iriſh as fled from the lands, held by the Engliſh barons, may return in peace on paying the above tribute, or ſuch other ſervices as they were anciently accuſtomed to perform for their tenures, at the option of their lords: ſhould they prove refractory, on complaint of ſuch lords, Roderic was to compel them; and they were to ſupply Henry with hawks and hounds annually.

From

A. C From the terms of this peace, as delivered by Engliſh writers, I think it is evident that Henry did not even pretend to impoſe Engliſh laws on the people, though the tenor of the bulls, on whoſe authority he gained his preſent footing in Ireland, ſeemed to require ſome alterations of this kind. On the contrary, this peace ſeemed no more than ſuch as would paſs between princes upon an equality, if we exclude the performing homage required of Roderic, which, for my own part, I am ſatisfied was neither done nor required of him. As to every thing elſe, Roderic agrees to pay a certain ſubſidy to Henry for ſupporting him againſt any adventitious enemies that may ariſe; and, in return, Roderic engages to defend and protect his barons and dependants in their new acquiſitions. We do not find by this treaty that even theſe parts of Ireland, which acknowledged Henry for their ſovereign, had the leaſt idea of Engliſh tenure. Such of the people as fled from the tyranny of the new-comers, are required to re-occupy their lands according to the ancient modus. The diſtinction is, as clear and preciſe as poſſible, this: Henry, as ſovereign of Leath-Mogha, engages to ſupport and defend Roderic in the ſovereignty of Leth-Cuin; and as this compact is of greater conſequence to Roderic than to Henry, he agrees to pay to Henry, over and above the troops he may occaſionally want, a certain ſubſidy, ſuch as we ſee happens every day between princes independent of each other. This will appear more evident from the Iriſh account of this tranſaction, ſimple, plain, and unadorned with turgid words; and which Gratianus Lucius delivers from our annals without the ſmalleſt hint at tribute or homage—"Catholicus O'Dubhthy returned from Eng-"land, with peace agreed to on theſe conditions, with "the king of England, that Roderic ſhould be *king of the* "*Iriſh*—(probably this implied no command over the "new comers)—and that the provinces ſhould be "governed

" governed by their kings as uſual, but ſubject to chiefry A. C.
" to Roderic." This in effect is the ſame with the Engliſh account, but that no mention is made either of homage or tribute, and I do believe none were. We find Engliſh writers of theſe days ſo ſhamefully *tripping* on every other occaſion, that we are juſtified in doubting them on this. Cambrenſis has given us, as acts of the council of Caſhell, articles agreed and ſubſcribed to above half a century earlier, in the moſt ample manner, in the preſence not only of the clergy, but of the monarch and provincial kings; which is what cannot be ſaid to this council of Caſhell. Another explains the cauſe of the pretended canon of this council, relative to baptiſm, by affirming—" That it was the cuſtom in " Ireland, that on the birth of a child, his father or " any other perſon plunged him three times in water, " but if rich, he was waſhed in milk, and theſe liquors " after this ablution, were thrown into the ſink; to " prevent which profanation, the council made this " decree for baptizing in the church." But who could ſuppoſe that this ablution of new-born infants implied the ſacrament of baptiſm? though it is affirmed by a reverend divine, Benedict abbot of Peterborough! Are not all new-born infants firſt waſhed and cleanſed before they are dreſſed? and yet it is thus, this profound theologian explains the meaning of this imaginary canon of Gerald! Baptiſm is acknowledged as a ſacrament by all ſects and denominations of Chriſtians; and yet a nation, whoſe piety, zeal, and learning were confeſſed by all Europe, a nation from whom the very anceſtors of theſe new reformers, received the doctrines of Chriſt, are declared ignorant of the firſt principles of Chriſtianity! Nor are their writers entitled to better credit, when they confidently tell us—" That the Iriſh were not " governed by written laws, but by tradition and bar- " barous cuſtoms!" They were always governed by written

A. C. written laws; and a body of men in every age, from the remoteſt antiquity, even to the decline of the laſt century, were ſet apart for this ſtudy. Their books were numerous, and we have ſtill preſerved codes of laws, wrote before the Chriſtian æra! Are the ignorance of theſe writers of ſuch facts any extenuation of the crime of impoſition on the public? With ſtill greater confidence and certainty they affirm, that Henry introduced the Engliſh laws into Ireland, *which the Iriſh ſwore to obſerve*; that he eſtabliſhed ſheriffs in counties, judges, &c. If the authority of writers from age to age, from that epocha to this day, can add weight and certainty to theſe falſe aſſertions, nothing is clearer than that this new code of foreign laws was then agreed, ſubſcribed, and ſworn to by the Iriſh. But if notorious falſhoods of 600 years ſtanding, are not leſs true this day than the day of their promulgation, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that the preſent aſſertions are entitled to no more credit now than when firſt publiſhed. Not only the old but the new Iriſh, (the Pale excepted) were governed by the ancient laws of the country, from the days of Henry, to thoſe of James I. incluſive. Henry, if you will, made ſheriffs, judges, &c. to govern Ireland after the Engliſh modus; and the popes at this day, conſecrate biſhops to dioceſes, in which they have neither power nor ſubjects. In this light I ſhall have no objection to Henry's making ſheriffs for every county in the kingdom, convening of parliaments, ſending judges itinerant on circuit, &c. but that they aſſumed any acts of power out of the circuits of the Pale is what cannot be credited. Nor was it for a conſiderable time after his deceaſe, that even in this diſtrict, the Engliſh laws were regularly adopted, and even after they were, there are not wanting evidences to prove, that the Iriſh within this Pale, might chooſe to embrace or reject them.

From

From theſe irrefragable facts it muſt follow, that the famous ſtatute of Sir Edward Poyning, (giving to it the utmoſt force and power that its warmeſt advocates can wiſh), is a law which no ſophiſtry can make to extend beyond the limits to which it was originally confined. Could the province of Munſter, a conſiderable part of Leinſter, and the entire provinces of Connaught and Ulſter, become ſubject to a law they knew nothing of, never were conſulted about, nor in the framing of which were ever repreſented? The laws of the Pale, from the days of Henry III. to more than a century after the death of Poyning, are acknowledged as full as words can make them, *to be acts binding this little diſtrict*, AND IT ONLY! With as much propriety and juſtice might it be pretended, in a century or two hence, that a law now paſſed in Genoa or Florence, is then to bind all Italy, as, that this law of Poyning ſhould now bind all Ireland. But I have dilated ſo largely on this, in the third part of my introduction to Iriſh hiſtory, and brought the proofs ſo home, that to it I muſt refer thoſe who wiſh to be more fully informed in this matter. A. C.

It was from an ignorance of the ancient hiſtory of Ireland, from want of proper inquiry into the nature of the revolution in 1172, and for want of knowledge of the force and extent of the Engliſh mode of legiſlation, from the time of its firſt introduction into a CORNER OF THE KINGDOM to its UNIVERSAL ACCEPTATION in the reign of James I. that made the writings that were publiſhed from time to time againſt this famous act, appear ſo extremely defective and nugatory. They began their inquiries where they ſhould end them. Shamefully inattentive themſelves to the ancient hiſtory of their country, and not diſpoſed to encourage thoſe whoſe genius and inclinations would naturally lead them to explore ſo untrodden a paſſage, and ſo long neglected a ſubject, they

A. C. they have taken for granted whatever Engliſh writers have BOLDLY advanced on the ſubject, and by this means have left their country expoſed to general contempt, and themſelves unable to defend its cauſe! For, nothing is more certain than this; that all the effects attending the intruſion of Henry into the government of Ireland, *were, the total ceſſation of the monarchical power in the native princes.* The order of ſucceſſion was broke in upon, in the perſon of Brien-Borumhe, and the cuſtom of obtruding into the monarchy without a previous election, began with his ſucceſſor Malachie. This laſt rank, or ſomething nearly approaching to it, was what Henry aſpired to. From this time down to the acceſſion of James I. the power of the provincial kings continued. Certain it is, that during this period, the Iriſh of Engliſh extraction, extended their power and acquiſitions, in the different provinces, by alliances, by intrigues, and by dint of the ſword; but it was as Iriſh feudatory chiefs only, obeying no commands, or acknowledging no laws but the ancient ones of their country. All theſe facts are evident even in the reign of Elizabeth; and if there are ſome inſtances of particular chiefs ſurrendering their allodial tenures to this princeſs and to her father, is it not clear by the grants given again by them of theſe very tenures, that it was only altering the nature of them? In the firſt inſtance they held by the laws of their country, and were not liable to ſuffer loſs of life or property, by any overt act againſt the power of England or the Pale. In the ſecond, they became ſubjects, or, more properly ſpeaking, vaſſals to the crown of England, and thereby became amenable to her laws. I have examined many of theſe grants; ſome I have now before me; particularly one of my much eſteemed friend Sir John O'Flaherty. His great anceſtor Sir Murrogh O'Flaherty, called in this patent Sir Murrogh ni Doe O'Flaherty, agrees to ſurrender his title of O'Flaherty,

herty, and chiefry over certain diſtricts; his right A. C.
of preſentation to livings, and all other his powers as a Taoiſeach, or Iriſh chief, to queen Elizabeth, under certain conditions; and ſhe, by her deputy Sir John Perrot agrees to confirm him in his tenures, and moſt of his former powers, he acknowledging to hold them under the crown. This charter of agreement was ſigned the 12th of January, 1588, and in the thirtieth year of her reign.

CHAP. V.

Containing an alphabetical liſt of ancient Iriſh territories, and by what Mileſian families poſſeſſed, both before and after the invaſion of Henry II.

AGHNENURE, bordering on Lough-Corrib, in the county of Galway, the regal reſidence of the O'Flaherties, kings of Jar-Conaught; the extenſive remains of which at this day, proclaiming its ancient ſtate and magnificence. My eſteemed friend Sir John O'Flaherty, is the preſent chief of this illuſtrious houſe.

Aharloe, in the county of Limeric, the eſtate of a branch of the O'Briens.

Aidhne, or Ibh-Fiacharch-Aidhne, in the county of Galway, the lordſhip of O'Heyne.

Aine-Cliach, in the county of Limeric, the lordſhip of O'Kirwick.

Aos-Greine, extending from Cnoc-Greine, to near Limeric, was the patrimony of O'Connel, and Caſtle-Connel his chief reſidence.

Aradh-Cliach, in the county of Tipperary, near Killaloe, the eſtate of Mac O'Brien-Arad. Its firſt proprietor was O'Donnegan, of the Ernian race.

Ardach, in Carbury, in the county of Cork, the lordſhip of O'Flin, called O'Flinardah.

A. C. Ardah, eaſt of Caſhell, in the county of Tipperary, the lordſhip of O'Dea.

Ardes, in the county of Down, belonging to a branch of the O'Neills.

Ardmir, the lordſhip of O'Dogherty.

Areghaile, or Anally, in the county of Longford, the territory of O'Ferral, called alſo Conmhaichne.

Aron, in Carbry, the eſtate of O'Baire.

Bally-Hallinan, in the county of Limeric, the ancient eſtate of O'Hallinan; but in later times of the Mac Sheetries.

Bally-Shehan, in the county of Tipperary, poſſeſſed by a branch of the O'Briens.

Beara, in the county of Cork, now divided into the baronies of Beare and Bantry, poſſeſſed by the O'Sullivans and O'Driſcols. The chief of the O'Sullivans, which is the preſent count of Beer-haven, in Spain, was called O'Sullivan Beare.

Breaſal-Macha, in the county of Ardmagh, the eſtates of O'Donnegan, O'Lavargan, and O'Eidi.

Bregmuin, now called the barony of Braony, in Weſt Meath, the territory of O'Braoin, or O'Byrne.

Breifne, comprehended a large tract of country, and was divided into Eaſt and Weſt Breifne. Eaſt Breifne, or the preſent county of Cavan, was the principality of O'Reily. The preſent O'Reily, or chief of this illuſtrious ſept, is captain-general of Andaluſia, and inſpector-general of the Spaniſh infantry.

Weſt Breifne, comprehended the preſent county of Leitrim, and was the principality of O'Ruark. Theſe territories were called Breifne-O'Riely, and Breifne-O'Ruark.

Brurigh, a royal manſion in the county of Limeric, the ſeat of O'Donovan, chief of Kenry.

Burrin, or eaſtern Corcamroadh, a barony in the county of Clare, the principality of O'Loghlin.

Cahir,

Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, the eſtate of A. C.
O'Lonargan.

Cairbre-Aodhbha, now called Kenry, in the county of Limeric, the ancient eſtates of O'Donovan, O'Clereine, and O'Flánery.

Cairbreacha, called anciently Corca-Luidhe, ſtretching from Bantry to Crookhaven, and the river Kinmare, was the territory of the Ithian race, or Iriſh Brigantes. O'Driſcol was the chief, and O'Baire, O'Cobhthig, O'Leary, O'Henegan, O'Flin, O'Fitrilly, O'Dead, and O'Hea, &c. were feodatary lords of this diſtrict.

Callain, in the county of Clare, the territory of O'Hehir.

Callain, in the county of Kilkenny, the eſtate of O'Gloherny, and O'Ceally.

Carran-Fearaidhe, or Cnoc-Aine, in the county of Limeric, the eſtate of O'Grady. This ancient race continue ſtill a numerous and reſpectable family in this county; and the preſent counteſs of Ilcheſter is daughter to Standiſh O'Grady, eſq. of Capercullan, than whom a more reſpectable character cannot any where be found.

Carrig a Foile, in the county of Kerry, the principality of O'Connor Kerry.

Ceil-Tanan, in the county of Clare, the eſtate of O'Mollony.

Cian-Cora, the royal ſeat of North Munſter, on the borders of the Shannon.

Cianachta, in the county of Derry, the territory of O'Connor-Cianachta, and of O'Cahan.

Cineal-Amhailghe, a large tract in Ulſter, the patrimony of O'Millane and O'Murcha.

Cineal-Aodha, in the county of Galway, the territory of O'Shaghneſſy.

Cineal-Aodha, in the county of Cork, the principality of O'Mahony.

A. C. Cineal-Conail, or Tyrconel, the principality of O'Donnel.

Cineal-Enda, in Meath, the eſtate of O'Brennan.

Cineal-Fearadeach, in Ulſter, the lordſhip of O'Maol Patrick.

Cineal-Fermaic, in Thomond, the eſtate of O'Dae.

Cineal-Fiachra, county of Weſt Meath, the principality of Mac Geoghagan.

Cineal-Luchain, in the county of Leitrim, the eſtate of Mac Durchuighe, or Darae.

Cineal-Mbinne, in Tyrconnel, belonging to a branch of the O'Donnells.

Cineal-Mbracuidhe, in Tyrconnel, the eſtate of O'Brodie and O'Mulfavil.

Cineal-Neanga, in ancient Oirgial, the eſtates of O'Goran, O'Linſchan, and O'Breiſlan.

Cineal-Neanga, in Meath, the country of Mac Ruark.

Cineal-Neni, in the county of Tyrone, the eſtate of O'Neny.

Cineal-Noanguſa, in Meath, the territory of O'Heacha.

Clan-Aodh-Buidhe, North, in the county of Antrim, held by the O'Neills.

Clan-Aodh-Buidhe, or Clanaboy, South, in the county of Down poſſeſſed by a branch of the O'Neills.

Clan-Breaſail, in Conaught, the eſtate of O'Donnellan.

Clan-Breaſſil, in the county of Ardmagh, the lordſhip of Mac Cahan, or Kane.

Clan-Colman, in Meath, the principality of O'Malochlin.

Clan-Derla, in the county of Clare, the ancient territory of Mac Mahon.

Clan-Feargal, comprehended twenty-four town-lands, ſituated on the eaſt of Loch-Corb, in which the city of Galway now ſtands, was the territory of O'Halloran, of the Hy-Brune race, and line of Heremon. Aileran, ſurnamed

surnamed An Teagna, or the Wise, regent of the university of Clonard, in the seventh century, and one of St. Patrick's biographers, and St. Finbara, first bishop and founder of the cathedral of Cork, were of this sept; as also William Halloran, better known by the name of William Ocham, or Ogham, (on account of his profound knowledge in the ancient hierographic character of the Irish.) He was styled prince of the Nominals, taught in the university of Oxford, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was the great opponent of the celebrated Scotus in that university. From the house of Clan-Feargal is the present writer descended, A. C.

Clan-Malugra, or Glanmalier, part in the King's, and part in the Queen's county, the lordship of O'Dempsey.

Cleanagh, in the county of Clare, the property of Mac Mahon.

Cleir, or cape Clear, in Carbury, the mansion of O'Driscoll-mor.

Cluan Mac Diarmada, in the County of Clare, the estate of the Mac Clanchys, hereditary lords justices of Thomond.

Clin-Uadach, in Conaught, the estate of O'Fallon.

Coilte-Maibineacha, near Mitchel's-Town, in the county of Cork, the estate of a Branch of the O'Casseys.

Conal-Gabhra, or Ibh-Conal-Gabhra, the present baronies of Connello, in the county of Limeric, the ancient territory of O'Connel; but afterwards we find it possessed by the O'Kinealies, and O'Cuileans, or Collins.

Conal-Murtheimhne, or the present county of Lowth, otherwise Machaire-Chonal, was so called from the renowned Conal-Cearnach, master of the knights of Ulster, a little before the incarnation. The Mac Gennises are the principal representatives of this illustrious house in Ulster.

Conmaicne,

A. C. Conmaicne, in the county of Leitrim, the patrimony of the Mac Ranells.

Conmaicne-Cuile-Tola, or the barony of Kilmain, in the county Mayo, the lordſhip of O'Talcairn.

Conmaicne-Dunmore, in the county of Galway, the eſtate of O'Siodhlan.

Conmaicne-Mara, in the county of Galway, was the country of the O'Ceilies.

Conmaicne-Moiren, otherwiſe Analy, in the county of Longford, the territory of O'Ferral.

Conuil-Jachtarach, or lower Conella, in the county of Limeric, beſides the O'Cinealies, and O'Collins, we find the O'Sheehans had lordſhips there.

Conuil-Uachtarach, or upper Connella, the lordſhip of Mac Ennerie.

Corafin, a territory in the county of Clare, the eſtate of O'Quin and O'Hefferman.

Coran, in the county of Sligoe, the eſtate of Mac Donough, of the Heremonian line.

Corca-Bhaiſgin, now the barony of Moiarta, in the county of Clare, the ancient territory of O'Baiſein and O'Donal, but for ſome centuries paſt the eſtate of the Mac Mahons of Thomond.

Corca-Duibhne, and Aobh-Rathach, in the weſt of Kerry, the lordſhips of O'Falvie, and O'Shea.

Corca-Eachlan, in the county of Roſcommon, the eſtates of O'Hanly, and O'Brenan.

Corca-Luidhe. See Cairbreacha.

Corcamruadh, a principality in the county of Clare, the territory of O'Connor-Corcamruadh, of the Irian race.

Corcard, in the county of Longford, the eſtates of O'Mulſinny, O'Curgavan, O'Daly, O'Slaman, and O'Skully.

Corcraidhe, in the county of Meath, the eſtate of O'Higin.

Coſmach,

Coſmach, in the county of Limerick, belonging to a branch of the O'Briens. A. C.

Croich-Cairbre, or Siol-Muireadha, the territory of O'Connor-Sligo.

Crioch-Cnobhadha, in Meath, the lordſhip of O'Dubhan, or O'Duan.

Crioch-Cualan, in the county of Wicklow, the property of O'Kelly of the Lagenian race.

Crioch-Cuire, or the country of Core, the ancient name of Burren and Corcamruadh in the county of Clare, ſo called from Core of the Irian line, who there ruled before the incarnation.

Crioch-Feidhlim, in the county of Wexford, the lordſhip of O'Murphy.

Crioch-na-Ceadach, in Meath, the patrimony of O'Fallon.

Crioch-o-Mbairce bordering on the King's County and county of Kildare, the ancient eſtate of Mac Gorman.

Crioch-ui-Maine, in the Queen's County, the eſtate of O'Cowley.

Cuallachda, in the county of Clare, the patrimony of O'Dubhgin, or Dugin.

Cuircne, a territory in Weſt Meath, the lordſhip of O Tolarg.

Culrelamhain, in Meath, the eſtate of O'Murray.

Dairbre, in the county of Kerry, the eſtate of O'Shea.

Dal-Araidhe, a conſiderable territory in Ulſter, including almoſt the entire county of Down, and a conſiderable part of the county of Antrim. It was the territory of the Clana Ruighruidhe, or line of Ir, after the ruin of Emania, and ſo called from Fiacha Araidhe. The Mageniſes, O'Dunlevys, O'Loingſidhis, O'Mathgamhnaidhs or Smiths, Mac Cartans, Mac Bhairds or Wards, the O'Maol Creabhs or Ovaghs, &c. were the proprietors of this country.

Dal-Fiathach, ſo called from Fiathach-Finn, monarch of Ireland in the third century, was a territory bordering

ing

E A. C. ing on Loch-Erne, inhabited by the poſterity of this prince.

Dal-Riada, a large territory in Ulſter, in the poſſeſſion of Cairbre Riada, who firſt formed an Iriſh colony in Scotland.

Darach, in Thomond, the patrimony of Mac Donnel, deſcended from Brian-Boirumhe.

Darinne. See Cairbreacha.

Dartraidhe, in the county of Roſcommon, the country of O'Fin, Mac Flancha, and a branch of the O'Carrols.

Dartraidhe, in the county of Sligoe, the eſtate of Mac Lanchy.

Dartraidhe, in the county of Monaghan, the principal ſeat of Mac Mahon, chief of that country.

Dealbhna, or Delvin. There were ſeven diſtricts of this name, all originating from Luigh-Dealbha, who, at the head of his ſix ſons and his forces, marched into Meath and Conaught, where he gained theſe poſſeſſions, which ſtill go by the name of the Delvins.

Dealbhna-Beg, in Meath, was the territory of O'Maolchailin.

Dealbhna-Cual-Feabhar, in the ſame, and Dealbhna-Nuadhat, in the county of Roſcommon, were alſo Fearan-Cloidhimh, or Sword-Lands, acquired by Dealbha and his poſterity.

Dealbhna-Eathra, in the King's County, is ſtill the lordſhip of O'Coghlin.

Dealbhna-Feadh, in the county of Galway, the eſtate of Mac Conroi.

Dealbhna-Mor, in Meath, was the lordſhip of O'Fenellan, who, being diſpoſſeſſed in the decline of the twelfth century by Hugo de Lacy, it was granted to the Nugents, who were created lords of Delvin.

Dealbhna-Tan-Moi, in Meath, the patrimony of O'Scully.

Deaſmuinhain,

Deaſmuinhain, Deſmond, or South Munſter, was principally inhabited by the Eoganachts, or poſterity of Eoghain-More, by the Clana Ith, or Iriſh Brigantes, by ſome of the iſſue of Deagha, and ſome branches of the line of Ir. A. C.

Deiſebh, or the Deiſies, divided into North and South Deiſies. O'Felan and O'Brie, of the Heremonian line, were chief princes of the Deiſies, under whom were many ſubordinate lords.

Diſeart-ui-Deagha, in the county of Clare, the eſtate of O'Dae.

Domhnac-Mor-ui-Healuigh, in Muſcry, in the county of Cork, the eſtate of O'Healy.

Dufferin, in the county of Down, a part of Mac Artin's country.

Duhallo, in the county of Cork, the eſtate of Mac Donough, a branch of the Mac Carthies.

Eile-ui-Chearabhail, in Ormond, or Eaſt Munſter, the principality of O'Carrol.

Eile-ui-Fhogerta, in the county of Tipperary, the ancient territory of O'Fogerty. My worthy friend, Dr. O'Fogerty, the preſent repreſentative of this great houſe, ſtill poſſeſſes a reſpectable part of the domains of his anceſtors.

Emhain-Macha, or Emania, near Ardmagh, the royal reſidence of the kings of Ulſter of the Irian race.

Eoganacht was a name given to principalities poſſeſſed by the immediate iſſue of Eoghan-Mor and his poſterity: as,

Eoganacht-Aine-Cliach, in the county of Limeric, the lordſhip of O'Kerwic.

Eoganacht-Caſhel, extended from Caſhell to Clonmel; its principal chief was Mac Carthy, head of the Eugenian line.

Eoganacht-Gleanamhain, in the county of Cork, was the Lordſhip of O'Keefe.

Eoganacht-

A. C. Eoganacht-Locha-Lein, or Killarney, in the county of Kerry, was the lordſhip of O'Donoghoe, and part of this territory is ſtill poſſeſſed by that princely race.

Eoganacht-Graffan, in the county of Tipperary, the lordſhip of O'Sullivan; and their principal ſeat was at Cnoc Graffan on the banks of the Shure.

Eoganacht-Raith-Lean, in the county of Cork, was the territory O'Mahony Fionn.

Faith-ui-Halluran, extending from Tulla to near Clare in Thomond, the eſtate of O'Halloran of the Heberean race.

Fanait, in the county of Tyrconnel, the patrimony of a branch of the Mac Sweenies.

Fearán-Saingil, called Single-Land, but more properly the Land of the Holy Angel, near Limeric, the ancient eſtate of the O'Conuins or Cuneens.

Fearcail, in Meath, the principality of O'Molloy.

Fearmoighe, in the county of Antrim, the eſtates of O'Ciaran and O'Tierny.

Fearmoighe-Fene, in the county of Cork, the ancient territory of O'Dugan and O'Coſcraig, but encroached upon in the ninth century by their too powerful neighbour O'Keeffe; they, in their turn, were diſpoſſeſſed by the Roches, who were afterwards created viſcounts of Fermoy.

Feartullach, in the county of Meath, the eſtate of O'Dooley.

Fermanagh county, the lordſhip of Macguire.

Fionn-Ruis, in Tyrconnel, the eſtates of O'Foranan and O'Carnahan.

Fogharta, in Leinſter, the country of the O'Nualans.

Gabhran, or Goran, in the county of Kilkenny, the eſtates of O'Shillilan and O'Gudhthin, or Getin.

Gallinga-Beg, a diſtrict in Meath, the eſtate of O'Heneſſy.

Gallinga-

Gallinga-Mor, now the barony of Galen, the lordſhip of O'Hara. A. C.

I find mention made in the Leabhar-Lecan, and other MSS. of many other Gallingas, but cannot aſcertain their ancient proprietors. All theſe territories were ſo called from Cormoc Gallengach, great grandſon to Olliol Olom, by whom they were conquered in the third century.

Glan-Omra, in the county of Cork, the ancient patrimony of the Mac Auliffs.

Gleanamhain, O'Keeffe's country. See Eoganacht Gleanamhain.

Glean-Fleiſg, in the county of Kerry, the lordſhip of O'Donoghoe-Glean-Fleiſg.

Glean-Malier, in the county of Kildare, the lordſhip of O'Dempſy.

Gort-Innſe-Guare, in the county of Galway, the manſion of O'Shagnaſſie.

Graffan, or Cnoc-Graffan, in the county of Tipperary, one of the royal palaces of Munſter in early days, afterwards the particular manſion of O'Sullivan.

Ibh-Bruin, the name of many ancient territories in Conaught, ſo called as being inhabited by the poſterity of Brian ſon of Eocha-Moivone, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century, as other territories there got the name of Ibh-Fiacharach, as being poſſeſſed by the iſſue of his brother Fiachara.

Ibh-Cinſelach, in the county of Wexford, the ancient principality of Mac Murcha, or O'Cavenagh, king of Leinſter: in later periods they were tranſplanted to the barony of Idrone in the county of Carlow. The preſent O'Cavenagh reſides at Boraſs, in ſaid county.

Ibh-Cinſelach, in the county of Wexford, the ſeat of O'Kinſelagh.

Ibh-Diarmada, in Conaught, the eſtate of O'Concanan.

Ibh-

A. C. Ibh-Eachach, in the county of Cork, the property of the O'Mahonys.

Ibh-Failge, a very ancient territory, ſtretching into the county of Kildare and into a part of the King and Queen's county, was the principality of Roſa-Failge, eldeſt ſon to Cathoir-Mor, monarch of Ireland in the ſecond century. His particular manſion was in the county of Kildare, and from him is it yet called the barony of Offaly. The repreſentative of this princely race was O'Connor Failge, or Faly. O'Dempſy and O'Dun, &c. were lords in this country. The preſent count O'Falia captain-general of the coaſt of Grenada, in Spain, is, I take it for granted, the chief of this firſt branch of the royal line of Leinſter.

Ibh-Fiarach, in the county of Galway, included the territories of O'Hayne and O'Shaghnaſſy.

Ibh-Fiarach, now called Tuam-ui-Mheara, in the county of Tipperary, the lordſhip of O'Mara. The preſent chief of that ancient houſe is not inferior to any of his anceſtors in hoſpitality and the ſocial virtues.

Ibh-Kerin, or Ikerin, in Upper Ormond, the O'Meaghirs country.

Ibh-Laoghaire, in the county of Cork, O'Leary's country.

Ibh-Laoghaire, in Meath, the eſtate of O'Cindealvin, or Cindellan.

Ibh-Liathan, now called Barrymore, in the county of Cork, the country of O'Lehan or O'Line.

Ibh-Mac-Cuille, or Imokilly, in the county of Cork, formerly poſſeſſed by the O'Ceilies, O'Mactre, O'Glaſſin, O'Ciaran, and O'Bregan.

Ibh-Maile, in the county of Mayo, O'Mailly's country.

Ibh-Maine, in the county of Galway, and part of the county of Roſcommon, the country of O'Kelly and his ſubordinates.

ſubordinates. O'Kelly was hereditary treaſurer of Co- A. C.
naught.

Ibh-Maoile, in the county of Wicklow, the O'Toole's country.

Ibh-Oneach, a large territory in the county of Roſcommon, the principalities of O'Connor-Don and O'Connor-Roe, the lineal deſcendants of Roderic O'Connor, laſt monarch of Ireland, and which great families ſtill ſubſiſt, and have preſerved ſome remnants of the extenſive domains of their anceſtors.

Ibh-Neill-Deiſgeart, or Southern O'Neills, comprehended all Meath and the adjoining places, which were bequeathed by the will of Niall the Grand to four of his ſons, and in this name is included all the branches of his family there reſiding.

Ibh-Neill-Tuaſgeart, or Northern O'Neill, included Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and all thoſe other territories beſtowed by the above monarch on the reſt of his children, and in this name is comprehended the poſterity of this prince in the North.

Ibh-Regan, in the Queen's County, the lordſhip of O'Regan, but ſince poſſeſſed by the O'Duns.

Ibh-Seratha, in the county of Kerry, the territory of O'Falvie, hereditary admiral of South Munſter.

Ibh-Tuirtre, in Meath, the patrimony of the Donegal, the lordſhip of O'Dogherty.

Irris-Domhain, in the county of Mayo, the great houſe of the Conaught knights of the Damnonian or Danaan race.

Iveach, in the county of Down, the lordſhip of the Mageniſes.

Laoiſeach, in the Queen's County, the lordſhip of O'Moora, or More: O'Moore, of Ballyna, in the county of Kildare, is the chief of this great houſe.

Loch-Lein, or Killarney, the lordſhip of O'Donoghoe.

Luin-

A. C. Luin-Con, in the Weſt of Carbury, the territory of O'Driſcol-Oge.

Magh-Breagha, now called Fingal, near Dublin. Who were its ancient proprietors I cannot learn. The Danes very early made a ſolid ſettlement there; and from them the Iriſh gave it the name of Fingal, or the country of the White Strangers.

Magh-Cullin, in the county of Galway, O'Flaherty's country.

Magh-Druchtan, in the Queen's county, belonging to a branch of the O'Kellys.

Magh-Gaibhle, in the county of Kildare, poſſeſſed by a branch of the O'Ceilies.

Magh-Ithe, in the county of Derry, the country of the O'Boyles, O'Maolbriaſſals, the O'Quins, and O'Cannies.

Magh-Leamhna, in the county of Antrim, the eſtate of the Mac Lanes, or Maclins, O'Commins, &c.

Magh-Liffe, the plains of Dublin, the ancient territory of the O'Cullins, the O'Brachanes, and other tribes.

Magh-Lurg, in the county of Roſcommon, the Mac Dermod's country. Mac Dermod was hereditary marſhal of Conaught; and the preſent chief of this princely line is Mac Dermot, of Coolavin, in the county of Sligoe.

Magh-Muirtheimhne, in the county of Lowth, famous for the defeat and death of Cucullin, captain of the Ulſter knights, before the incarnation.

Maon-Maigh, now called Clanriſhard, in the county of Galway, the ancient patrimony of the O'Mulallies or Lallys, and of the O'Nachtans.

Monaghan county, the principality of Mac Mahon.

Muiceadha, in the county of Limeric, the lordſhip of Mac Enery. The remains of a large monaſtery, and other public buildings, at Caſtle-Town-Mac-Enery, yet beſpeak

beſpeak the piety and ſplendor of this family, of which A. C.
there are ſcarce any remains at this day.

Muintir-Gilgain, the eſtate of O'Quin, in the county of Longford.

Muintir-Tir-Conlachta (I ſuppoſe the preſent Tuam-Greine) in the county Clare, the ancient lordſhip of O'Grada, or O'Grady.

Muiſcridhe-na-tri-Magh, now the half barony of Orrery, in the county of Cork, the country of the O'Cuillenans and O'Donegans.

Muiſcridh-Jarrar-Feimhin, near Emly, in the county of Tipperary, the eſtate of O'Carthy.

Muiſcridh-Luachra, near Kilmalloc, in the county of Limeric, the eſtate of O'Hea.

Muiſcridh-Miotane, in the county of Cork, the territories of O'Flain and O'Maolfavil.

Muiſcridh-Tire, the ancient name of Lower Ormond, the early property of the O'Donegans of the Ernan race; ſince then poſſeſſed by Mac O'Brien of Arradh, O'Kennedy, O'Donnellan, &c.

Murtha Imhanachan, an ancient territory in Conaught, the lordſhip of O'Beirne.

Nas, or Nas-Laighean, (ſo called, as being the place of meeting of the eſtates of Leinſter, now the Naas, in the county of Kildare) the reſidence of the Mac Murroughs, or O'Cavenaghs.

Oghbhadh, in the county of Meath, the eſtate of a branch of the O'Heas.

Orgial, comprehended the preſent counties of Lowth, Ardmagh, and Monaghan, conquered by the three Collas, in the beginning of the fourth century.

Ormond, or Eaſt Munſter, the principality of O'Carrol.

Offruidhe, or Offory, now in Leinſter, was the principality of Fitz-Patrick, O'Carrol, O'Delany, O'Doncha, O'Niachal, or, Nihil, and many other ancient ſepts.

Ouen-

A. C. Ouen-ui-Clearna, now Six-Mile-Bridge, in the county of Clare, the eſtate of O'Kearney.

Pobul-ui-Brien, now a barony in the county of Limeric, the country of a branch of the O'Brien family.

Pobul-ui-Ceallachan, is the name of a territory in the county of Cork, extending from Mallow weſtward, on both ſides the Black-Water, the ancient principality of O'Ceallachan. The family were tranſplanted to Ceil-Chorney, in the county of Clare, by Cromwell, which eſtate is ſtill preſerved entire.

Pobul-ui-Healuighe, in Muſkry, in the county of Cork, the patrimony of the O'Healies.

Raffan, the ſeat of O'Sullivan. See Graffan.

Rath-Conan, in the county of Limeric, the eſtate of O'Caſey. The preſent Viſcount Pery, enjoys a part of this eſtate, in right of his great-grand-mother, the heireſs of O'Caſey.

Rinilough, in the county of Wicklow, poſſeſſed by a branch of the O'Byrnes.

Rinn-Mhuintir-Bhaire, an head-land in Carbury, the ancient reſidence of the O'Baires.

Roule. See Dal-Riada.

Sathni, in Meath, the eſtate of O'Caſey.

Silan-Machadh, the O'Maddins country, in the county of Galway.

Siol-Murrey, near Sligoe, O'Connor-Sligoe's country.

Sliabh-Scot, in the county of Clare, the eſtate of the Mac Bruodin's, hereditary hiſtorians of North Munſter.

Tanaiſte, ſignifies the next in command, and preſumptive heir to a principality or lordſhip.

Teabhtha, or Taaffel, an extenſive territory in Meath, the principality of Maine, fourth ſon of Niall the Grand, whoſe deſcendants were the O'Sheenachs or Foxes, Mac Anlys, O'Braoins, O'Quins, O'Dalies, O'Caharn or Kerin, O'Murrigan, O'Haga, &c.

Tir-

Tir-Amhalgaid, in the county of Mayo, O'Hara's country. A. C.

Tir-Connel, in Ulſter, the principality of O'Donnel.

Tirone, the principality of O'Neill.

Tirtuathal, the eſtate of Mac Manus.

Traidaire, or Tradraighe, now a barony in the county of Clare, before the incarnation the reſidence of the Clana-Deagha, or Munſter knights, from Daire, the ſon of Deagha, ſo called, and which words import *the warriors of Daire.* From this Daire, came the word Ridire, or Ridare, to ſignify a knight, from Righ, or Ri, the fore-arm, to which the name Daire was annexed. They were diſpoſſeſſed of this territory in the third century by Cormoc-Cas, king of Leath-Mogha. It became by ſucceſſion the property of Luigh-Lucius, or more properly Louis, called Dealbha, the ſon of Cas, the ſon of Conall-Eachluath, in the fourth century, which he reſigned to his daughter Aoife, and to her poſterity; whilſt he, at the head of his ſix ſons and a ſelect body of troops, marched into Leinſter, where he acquired large poſſeſſions, which from him were called the Dealbhnas, ſome of which are continued in his poſterity to this day. My honoured friend Sir Lucius O'Brien, is the preſent chief of Tradaire.

Triocha-cead-an-Chala, the eſtate of O'Ceadfa, or Coffie.

Triocha-cead-o-Claiſin, the barony of Tulla, in the county of Clare, the eſtate of Mac Namara, hereditary lord marſhal of Thomond.

Triocha-Cead-Cladhac, in Fermanagh, the eſtate of the Mac Kennas.

Tuam-ui-Mhara, in the county of Tipperary, the lordſhip of O'Mara.

Tuath-Muimhain, North Munſter, or Thomond, extended from the iſles of Aran to Sliabh Eibhline, near

A. C. Caſhell, to Carran-Fearaidh, or Cnoc-Aine, in the county of Limeric; and from Luin-na-Con, or Loops-Head, to Sliabh-Dala, in Offory; but in later ages it was circumſcribed to the preſent county of Clare, of which the O'Briens are hereditary princes. The preſent earl of Inchiquin, is chief of this branch of the royal line of Heber, eldeſt ſon to Mileſius, Mile-Eſpaine, or the Hero of Spain.

Tuatha-da-Danann, the Damnonii, or fourth colony of Iriſh.

Tulachog, in Ulſter, the eſtate of O'Hagan, and O'Gormleys.

Tullichrien, in the county of Clare, the eſtate of O'Gorman. My eſteemed friend the Chevalier O'Gorman is chief of this ancient houſe.

Tullallaithne, in the county of Tipperary, the eſtate of O'Ryan, or O'Mul-Ryan.

Turtra, in Oirgial, poſſeſſed by the O'Donnellans, O'Flins, and O'Heires.

Uaithne, in the county of Limeric, the eſtate of O'Dinnahan, or Dinan.

Ulla, now the county of Down, the principality of Magennis.

Ulladh, the province of Ulſter, ſo called from the great Ollamh-Fodhla.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Objections to the authenticity of Mileſian pedigrees anſwered— ALL *deſcended from three ſons of Mileſius, and from his uncle Ith—different ſepts of the ſame name—names of the Eoganachts, of the line of Heber—the Ithian race—Degaids of Munſter and Irians—the iſſue of Cormoc and Cian, of the line of Heber—the race of Ir—the Heremonians of Leinſter, and the other ſepts eſtabliſhed there—the families of Meath—Hi-Bruins and Hi-Fiacres of Conaught—families of Ulſter, of the Collas, &c.*

THE ancient Egyptians were ALL deemed noble, and ſo were the ancient Iriſh, and certainly with the greateſt juſtice, both deriving their origins from the pureſt fountains. But it may be objected to the Mileſian Iriſh, that they all trace their genealogies to royal blood, which as it appears, (viewed in the moſt favourable light) a little paradoxical, it requires to be adverted to.

Certain it is, that on the Mileſians firſt landing in Ireland, the country was thickly inhabited, and that all their own ſoldiers and men at arms, could not poſſibly be from the ſame ſtock with them, any more than the original natives. All this is granted, and yet it will not in the leaſt invalidate the truth of theſe genealogies. The duty of the hereditary antiquarians, poets, and hiſtorians, from the earlieſt antiquity, even to the decline of the laſt century, was to tranſmit from age to age, with the greateſt preciſion and perſpicuity, the genealogies, the exploits, and the poſſeſſions of the different families of the kingdom, from the royal ſtock of Mileſius, and

A. C. theſe only. If any branches of theſe families went to decay, or were no longer able to ſupport their rank in the ſtate, the genealogiſts and hiſtorians ceaſed purſuing them. No further account was given of them, as if they had left no iſſue; ſo that ſuch natives and foreigners as ſuppoſe from our genealogies, that the entire kingdom were the iſſue of the ſons of Mileſius, are not at all juſtified in their ſuppoſitions by the hiſtory of the country.

The monarchs and provincial kings were elected from certain families of the blood royal, who had preſerved power and poſſeſſions ſufficient to ſupport and juſtify their claims. The collateral branches of theſe families, applied to the profeſſion of arms, to the church, or to the ſtudy of different branches of the ſciences, which were all deemed noble. The genealogies of all theſe were moſt carefully preſerved, and of courſe it will naturally explain and clearly juſtify the claims of all the Mileſian families, in tracing their anceſtry to Mileſius, to Gathelus, and to Phœnius—thus, Donatus, biſhop of Eieſoli, near Florence, in his poem on Ireland, of one thouſand one hundred years ſtanding, treats the matter in hand:

"In quâ Scotorum gentes habitare merentur:
"*Inclyta gens* hominum!"

Of all the ſons of Mileſius, as well natural, as thoſe born in wedlock, the iſſue of three only are preſerved in our annals, with thoſe of his uncle Ith, who are called the Clana-Breogan, or Brigantes. Theſe three ſons of Mileſius are Heber, his firſt begotten, born in Egypt; Ir, and Heremon, whoſe mother was Scota, daughter to the king of Egypt. The line of Heber begins with the three ſons of Oilioll-Ollum, namely, Eogan-Mor, Cormac-Cas, and Cian. The poſterity of the two firſt are from theſe anceſtors diſtinguiſhed into Eoganachts, and

and Dal-Gas. About the middle of the tenth century, A. C.
ſurnames became firſt introduced into Munſter, and, in the beginning of the next age, became adopted all over the kingdom. But when ſurnames came into general uſe, care was taken that they ſhould not be arbitrarily aſſumed. Every family was to add to his Chriſtian name, the name of ſome particular anceſtor, renowned for his ſuperior bravery, virtue, or ſanctity. To this was to be prefixed the words O, or Mac, which ſignified the ſon or iſſue of that perſon. To illuſtrate this by a few inſtances, the O'Briens were ſo called, as being the deſcendants of the renowned Brien Boirumhe; the O'Neills, from Niall, the hero of the nine hoſtages; O'Ceallachans, from Ceallachan-Caſhell; the O'Sullivans, from a renowned anceſtor ſo called; and ſo of the other names *. The ſurname with the adjunct O, or Mac, was what was aſſumed by the chief of each name. He was ſaluted or addreſſed by no other title. O'Brien, Mac Carthy, or O'Niall, imported the chief of Thomond, of Deſmond, or Tyrone. To the branches the Chriſtian name was added. It was the cuſtom adopted from the earlieſt times; it is the mode obſerved by well-bred men at this day!

But though I have noticed, that the ſurnames of Mileſian families were taken from ſome remarkable anceſtor; yet it is neceſſary to obſerve, that gentlemen of the ſame name are by no means to be taken as if deſcended from the ſame ſtock and blood; and this remark will at the ſame time prove the extreme care and accuracy of our ancient genealogiſts. For inſtance, though O'Connor is a general name through the kingdom, and was formerly infinitely more ſo, yet we are not to ſuppoſe that they are all from the ſame root. The different ſepts of the O'Connors of Conaught, as O'Connor-Don,

* Introduction to Iriſh Hiſtory, p. 188.

O'Connor-

A. C. O'Connor-Roe, O'Connor-Sligoe, &c. are of the ſame ſtock, being all deſcended from Brien, eldeſt ſon to Eochaidh, monarch of Ireland, in the fourth century. O'Connor-Fali, chief of the O'Connors of Leinſter, is deſcended from Roſſa-Failge, or Fali, eldeſt ſon to Cathoir the Grand, monarch of Ireland, in the ſecond century. The O'Connors of Ulſter, are of the houſe of Heber, and ſprung from Cian, ſon to Oilliol, king of Munſter, in ſaid century; and the O'Connors of Kerry, and all South Munſter, as well as thoſe of Corcomruadh and Thomond, are of the royal line of Ir; the Mac Mahons and Mac Donnels of Ulſter and Thomond, are of different ſepts, and ſo are the O'Carrols. The ſame remark will hold good with reſpect to many other great names; yet the names of O'Brien, Mac Namara, O'Grady, and others of North Munſter, as well as the *entire ſtock* of the Eogonachts of South Munſter, wherever diſperſed, are of the ſame blood.

The poſterity of Eogan-Mor, eldeſt ſon of Oilliol, of the line of Heber, (the ancient inhabitants of Deſmond) are, firſt, Mac Carthy-Mor, or the Great, with the different branches of that name, proceeding from this great ſource. The O'Sullivans, O'Ceallachans, O'Keefes, O'Donoghoes, O'Mahonies, O'Donovans, O'Connells, Mac Killecoddy, O'Kerwics, O'Riarden, Mac Finighins or Fannins, O'Fogherty, Mac Auliffs, O'Finigin, O'Moriarty, O'Houregan, O'Cuillane or Collins, O'Hehir, O'Mechan, Mac Elligott, O'Davoran, Mac Arteri or Arthur, O'Lechan or Line, O'Treaſagha or Tracy, O'Ledeen, O'Garvan, Ma Crath, O'Kinealy, O'Clerein, O'Flanery, O'Anamachda, O'Daly: the ancient Stuarts of Lenox and Man in Scotland, and their poſterity, are of the race of Heber. O'Crowley-Lugha, ſon of Ith, uncle to Mileſius, had ſettlements aſſigned to him and to his followers, in the preſent county of Cork, immediately after the reduction of Ireland, and which from

from this prince were called Corca-Luighe. From him A. C.
are deſcended, firſt, O'Driſcol-Mor, with the different brances of his name, and from theſe O'Leary, O'Cobhthig, O'Baire, O'Flin, O'Hinegan, O'Hea, O'Dead, O'Fin, Mac Crochan, Mac Amalgad, O'Kearnan, O'Cormac, Mac Crath, O'Dooley, O'Enrichty, O'Rothlan or Rowland, O'Sungin, O'Kerwic, O'Fineen, O'Hallinan, with the twenty-ſeven biſhops of Roſs, and many ſaints. The dukes of Argyle, hereditary lords juſtices of Scotland, with all the Campbells of that county, the Mac Allens, and other noble ſepts of North Britain, are the iſſue of Mac Con, of the line of Ith, and monarch of Ireland in the commencement of the third century. It is to be noticed, that the people of Corca-Luighe, and indeed the moſt parts of Munſter, were Chriſtians, long before the arrival of St. Patrick.

About a century before Chriſt, Munſter received a new colony in the Clana-Deagha, called ſometimes Degaids, from this Deagha, as alſo Ernains of Munſter, from their firſt ſettlement about Loch-Erne, in the North. They were the iſſue of the monarch Aongus III. (See vol. ii. p. 168) of the line of Heremon; and from this houſe proceeded ſome kings of Munſter, Eiderſgoil, Conaire I. and Conaire II. monarchs of Ireland, with the royal line of Scotland, from Fergus to his preſent Majeſty. This family were the reſtorers of military diſcipline, and of the equeſtrian order of Munſter. Of this great houſe, the following families in Munſter are deſcended—O'Falvie, O'Shea, O'Connel, O'Cuillenan, O'Donnegan, O'Flin, chief of Muiſcridh, Miotane, O'Maolfavil, O'Cronacan, O'Samplin, (probably Suple, an ancient family in Kerry), O'Mael-Ceallig, O'Conaire, O'Fithilly, O'Cuire, O'Lochin, O'Conuing, O'Corcoran, O'Cineth, O'Robartaig, O'Fergus, and O'Buchan. The O'Dwyers, O'Brenans, and O'Ryans, of the line of Heremon, became alſo denizens of Munſter, as did the

A. C. the O'Felans, deſcended from Fiacha-Suidhe, O'Scanlan, O'Camoge, O'Heneſſy, O'Eagan, &c. of this race.

Beſides theſe, Ciar, one of the three ſons of Fergus, grandſon to Ruighridhe the Great, of the line of Ir, monarch of Ireland, gained poſſeſſions in Kerry, from him ſo called. From him are deſcended, firſt, O'Connor-Kerry, chief of this branch of the Irian line; and from him ſprung the O'Dugains, O'Conway, O'Cathil, which are the chief Mileſian families in South Munſter. Thomond, or North Munſter, was the inheritance of Cormac-Cas, reſerving the principality of Ormond, or Eaſt Munſter, to his brother Cian; but the ſovereignty was confined to the houſes of Eogan and Cormac only.

From Cormac are deſcended, firſt, O'Brien, chief of Thomond, Mac Mahon, lord of Corca-Bhaiſgin, Mac Namara, marſhal of Thomond, Mac Clancy, hereditary chief-juſtice, Mac Bruodin, hereditary hiſtorian, O'Hickey, and O'Nolan, the hereditary medical tribe, Mac Curtins, hereditary bards, &c. Beſides theſe hereditary officers, the following noble families are derived from this great ſource: O'Dea, O'Hehir, O'Quin, Mac Ennery, O'Grady, O'Heffernan, O'Kennedy, O'Hogan, O'Sheehan, O'Neachtan, O'Hea, O'Hurly, O'Mollowny, O'Bolan, O'Caſie, O'Hanraghan, O'Spelan, O'Coghlin, O'Tuamy, O'Lonargan, O'Ceallachan, O'Ahern, Ma Crath, O'Shanahan, O'Healy, O'Morrony, O'Mara, O'Henrighta, O'Loinſigh or Linch, O'Seaſnan or Sexton, O'Honcen, O'Cormocan, O'Riady, O'Halloran, O'Caſhin, O'Mulequiny, O'Heaphy, O'Hartigan, O'Gioll-Ioſachta or Lyſaghts, Mac Donnel, O'Conſadin, O'Regan, Arturagin or Arthur, O'Kearny, O'Coning or Cuneen, O'Liddy, O'Hinnigan, Mac Conry, O'Brody, O'Conglach, O'Minane, O'Marchahan, O'Duhig, O'Nunan, O'Collopy.

From Cian, third ſon of Oilliol, are ſprung, firſt, O'Carrol, prince of Eile, and chief of Ormond; O'Meaghir,

O'Meaghir, O'Riardan, O'Coreran, Mac Keogh, A. C.
O'Flanagan, O'Dulhonty, a branch of the O'Caſies, O'Connor Cianachta, O'Hara, O'Gary, &c. To theſe ſepts we are to add the poſterity of Corc, brother to Ciar, of the royal line of Ir, who acquired a large territory in Thomond, before the incarnation, from him called Corcamruadh, Eaſt and Weſt, now the baronies of Corcamruadh and Burren. The ancient chief of Corcamruadh of this line, was O'Connor; and of Burren was O'Loghlin, from whom O'Brock, O'Caſie, O'Turny, Mac Aniſter or Neſtor, O'Marchahan, and O'Tyn, are deſcended. Corca-Bhaiſgin, was the principality of Cairbre-Bhaiſgin, of the poſterity of Conaire the Grand, and Ernain race. This territory, bordering on the Shannon, in the county of Clare, though confined, yet was powerful in commerce, in riches, and inhabitants. No leſs than ſix ſaints are recorded to have proceeded from this houſe, among whom was the great St. Senanus, founder of the churches of Inis-Catha or Scattery, on the Shannon, as well as of the anchorite tower, yet ſtanding, in which he finiſhed his days; yet all the records that remain of this houſe are, that O'Baiſcin and O'Donnel were its chief repreſentatives in later days! The O'Gormans, of the Lagenian race, have long flouriſhed in Thomond.

The houſe of Ir, by right of ſeniority demands the ſecond place, though the Heremonians were undoubtedly the moſt powerful. From Ruighridhe, the grand monarch of Ireland, before the Incarnation, they are generally called Clana-Ruighridhe. We have ſeen the dominions of this great houſe reduced to very confined limits, after the deſtruction of Emania, by the three Collas, and of conſequence their poſterity not over numerous: yet, at this day, ſome of them make a diſtinguiſhed figure. The chief repreſentative of this houſe is Mac Gennis or Mac Aengus, as is O'Moora of the Craobh-Ruadh,

A. C. Ruadh, (though, I think, more properly Crobh-Ruadh, or of the Red or Bloody Hand) or hereditary knights of Ulſter of the Irian line. From theſe the Mac Gabhnions or Smiths, O'Garveys, O'Dunlevy, O'Heochagan, O'Lavery, O'Loinſy, O'Hanby, O'Neachach, Mac Cartin, O'Morna, O'Curry, O'Coltrain, Mac Gillarivig, Mac-an-Bhaird or Ward, O'Lawler, Mac Gilligan, O'Marchahan, O'Tierny, O'Conway, O'Caſie, O'Broſnahan, O'Harrigan, O'Hullachan, O'Duan, O'Maning, Mac Gilmer, O'Kenny, O'Carrolan, O'Ketherny, O'Scanlan, the O'Connors of Kerry and Thomond, O'Loghlin, the O'Ferrals of Analy, the Mac Rannels, &c.

The other Mileſians of Leinſter, Ulſter, and Connaught, are moſtly of the line of Heremon, but ſo early ſeparated from each other, that they may be regarded as different houſes. The line of Leinſter begins with Joughaine, the great monarch of Ireland, ſome centuries before Chriſt, whoſe royal reſidence was at Rath-Joughaine, now called Jiggin's-Town, near the Naas, the ancient capital of Leinſter, and from his two ſons. Loaghaire (Leary) from whom Dun-Leary, near Dublin, was the ſource of the Mileſians of Leinſter; as was his brother Cobh-Thaig, of thoſe of the reſt of Leth-Cuin. I find O'Baiſcin, O'Dwyer, O'Ryan, O'Garchin, Fitz-Patrick, and O'Brenan, to carry their pedigrees higher than Cathoir-Mor, from whom the other great families claim their deſcents. This prince Cathoir had thirty ſons, ten of which left iſſue. From Roſſa-Failge, his eldeſt, proceeded, firſt, O'Connor Faly, O'Dun, O'Dempſy, O'Regan, O'Colgan, O'Mulchiaran, O'Bearra, O'Harti, O'Cullin, O'Allilan, O'Fin, O'Maine, O'Flaherty, O'Dondon, O'Foranan, O'Heneſſy, O'Ullachan, O'Dugan, and O'Murrigih. From Daire, his ſecond ſon, ſprung O'Mooney, O'Gorman, O'Melan, O'Feall, O'Brenan, O'Mallone, O'Minchan, O'Manning,

O'Manning, O'Comain, O'Guban, and O'Follachty. From Criomthan, the people of a diſtrict in Leinſter, whoſe names I know not, were called. From Breaſſal-Enachlas, the fourth ſon, ſprung O'Dicolo, O'Feardig, O'Cuning, O'Eogan, O'Cruchta, &c. From Eochaidh-Timine, came O'Hanragan, O'Birne, and O'Coplig, &c. From Olioll-Cetach, ſixth ſon, the O'Fallons of Crioch-Cetach, O'Cronan, and O'Cathill, &c. are deſcended. From Fergus-Luſcan came the O'Loſcans, O'Colman, O'Ena, O'Sinig, O'Lallain, O'Duban, O'Nowlan, O'Tily, O'Ciarmac, O'Geran, O'Cillin, &c. Deremaſach gave riſe to the O'Deremaſachs, O'Cuanda, O'Uica, &c. The iſſue of Aongus is thrown into that of Roſſa, by whom he was ſupported; but from the loins of Fiacha, the youngeſt ſon, ſprung moſt of the ſucceeding kings of Leinſter. The chief repreſentative of this houſe is Mac Murrough or O'Cavenagh, O'Murphy, O'Byrne, O'Toole, O'Maol-Ryan, O'Cinſelagh, O'Dowling, O'Maoldun or Mullin, O'Duffy. Beſides theſe, Leinſter received into its boſom the iſſue of other ſtates: for, in the reign of Feidhlim, the legiſlator, the Mamonians had over-run all Leinſter. In this diſtreſs Cuchorb applied to Eochaid-Fionn, the ſon of Feidhlim, who, with his preceptor Laoigheaſach of the line of Ir, marched into Leinſter at the head of twenty-one thouſand men, and cleared the country of theſe invaders. To reward theſe auxiliaries Cuchorb beſtowed on Eocha the Fothards in Leinſter, from a ſurname of his ſo called; and on Laoigheaſach, the country after him known by the name of Leis, or the preſent Queen's County. From Eochaidh are deſcended the O'Maoltollas, O'Mingan, O'Lochin, O'Cainoge, O'Comain, O'Luineachs, O'Meathus, O'Dermod, O'Meragin, &c. From Laoigheaſach came O'Moora, O'Brocain, O'Cormac, the Clan Flanegan, Clan Eilge, &c. Oſſory, though placed in Leinſter, was always tributary A. C.

A. C. tributary to Munſter, and ſometimes deemed a part of it. It was governed by its own princes, of the line of Heremon, and Fitz-Patrick was its chief. From him proceeded O'Delany, O'Niachol, O'Carin, O'Fenan, &c. Beſides theſe, the O'Coghlins and O'Fenellans, &c. of the line of Heber, and the O'Ferrals and Mac Rannels, of the Irian race, acquired conſiderable lordſhips in Leinſter.

Meath, formed into a fifth province by Tuathal, in the ſecond century, for the better ſupport of the monarchy, and which was called, "*The menſal territory of "the monarchs of Ireland,*" comprehended the preſent counties of Eaſt and Weſt Meath, the counties of Kildare and Dublin, with other adjoining territories. The poſterity of Cobhthaigh became here a numerous and powerful race. We may judge of their conſequence by Eochaidh-Fionn, brother to the monarch Con, being able to raiſe twenty-one thouſand fighting men to aſſiſt the Lagenians, though himſelf but a prince in Meath, and poſſeſſed of but a ſmall territory. But how great and popular ſoever they were, the preſent race of Meathians draw their pedigrees from the four ſons of Niall the Grand, ſettled here in the fourth century, but who were lineally deſcended from the ſame ſtock. The names of theſe four ſons were, 1. Loaghaire, 2. Conall-Criomthan, 3. Fiacha, and 4. Maine. The poſterity of theſe princes were diſtinguiſhed from the iſſue of their brethren ſettled in Ulſter, by the name of the Southern Hi-Nialls, Clan Colman, &c. From the eldeſt of theſe ſons, the country called Ibh-Laoghaire, took its name. His chief repreſentative was O'Cindealbhin, or Kendellan: O'Cuan, or Quan, O'Conrich, O'Tuchar, O'Licane, O'Fallon, O'Leochal, &c. are from this branch. From Conall Criomthan are the O'Maloghlin, or Mealſachlins, kings of Meath; on the arrival of the Engliſh, O'Dooly, O'Flanagan, with their dependants, whoſe names I cannot trace. The iſſue of Fiacha are, O'Molloy,

prince

prince of Fearcale, Mac Geoghegan, Mac Cullin, A C.
O'Higgin, Mac Ruark, O'Folarg, &c. The poſterity of Maine are, O'Sheenach, or Fox, Mac Awly, O'Daly, O'Brien, O'Quin, O'Hagan, O'Ronan, O'Donellan, O'Medog, O'Cithernig, O'Cathlin, or Callin, O'Mulconry, O'Fagan, O'Murray, O'Madegan, O'Dignan, O'Cerin, O'Celachan, O'Sligan, O'Shiel, O'Mulciaran, &c. Beſides theſe, O'Kelly, O'Comgallach, O'Rury, O'Mulcahill, Mac Connin, Mac Carrigan, O'Scully, O'Curry, Mac Gilla-Comog, O'Donog, O'Murchertach, were dynaſts of this country, of the Heremonian line.

The Conaught race of Mileſians, of the royal houſe of Heremon, claim their pedigree from the ſame ſource with thoſe of Meath, through Muiredhach, called Tireach, or the Patriot, the ſon of Fiachadh, the ſon of Cairbre, the ſon of Cormac, &c. This Muiredhach was king of Conaught before he ſucceeded his father in the monarchy, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Eocha. When this laſt became monarch, he left his domains in Conaught to his four ſons by his firſt wife. Of theſe, two only left iſſue, Brian and Fiachra. From Brian his deſcendants are generally called Hi-Bruin, and thoſe of his brother, Hi-Fiacre. From Brian ſprung firſt, O'Connor-Don, with the different branches of this name, O'Reily, O'Ruark, O'Flaherty, Mac Dermod, Mac Donough, O'Halloran, O'Maily, O'Flanegan, O'Flin, O'Hanly, Mac Manus, Mac Brady, O'Fallon, Mac Kernan, O'Donellan, O'Garvey, O'Byrne, O'Mallone, O'Mael-Brenan, O'Mullally, or Lally, O'Creaſe, O'Galvey or Gallway, Mac Tigernan or Ternan, Mac Brenan, Mac Teige, O'Crowley, O'Concanon, O'Finnegan, O'Murry, O'Callinan, O'Line, O'Fin, O'Cnamhin or Neven, O'Canavan, O'Domhlin, or Doolin, O'Breſlin, Mac Aodh or Hugh, Mac Eagan, O'Mahidy, O'Currin, O'Maolmorra, O'Carthy, O'Moran, O'Cahan, O'Maony, O'Finachty, Mac Dorchey or Darcey,

A. C. Darcey, Mac Clancy, O'Hea, O'Cearnachin, O'Dearmady, O'Gorman, O'Mitrigan, Mac Shanally. From Fiachra are deſcended O'Heyne, prince of Ibh-Fiachra Aoidhne, O'Shagneſſy, O'Dowd, O'Kilkelly, O'Cearig, O'Clery, O'Cemog, O'Caffy, O'Crocan, O'Fahy, O'Keady, O'Comain, &c. The O'Haras, O'Gara, Mac Conry, with their dependants, of the line of Heber, formerly had, and ſtill poſſeſs large domains in Conaught, beſides many great ſepts of the Danaan race.

The northern line of Heremon are the offspring of Eogan and Conal-Gulban, ſons of Niall the Grand, and of the three Collas of the ſame blood.

From Eogan are deſcended O'Neill, with the different branches of his name, always kings of Tyrone, and ſometimes monarchs of Ireland. Even, in the reign of Elizabeth, O'Neill was obeyed as monarch by his own faction, in every part of the kingdom. From O'Neill proceeded the Mac Sweneys, O'Gormly, O'Cahan, or Kane, O'Heaſy, O'Craibh, or Creagh, O'Mulligan, called Molineux, O'Mulvihil, Mac Loughlin, O'Donnolly, O'Cathvil, or Cauldfield, Mac Kilkelly, O'Duan, O'Horan, Mac Gnaire, O'Hegarty, O'Dubhderma, O'Dunegan, Mac Rury, O'Kelly, O'Maol-Breaſſal, O'Hamilly, O'Murcha, O'Maol-Fogarty, O'Daly. From Conall-Gulban, whoſe ſucceſſors were kings of Tyrconnel, and ſometimes monarchs, are ſprung, firſt, O'Donnel, chief of this great houſe; and from him O'Dogherty, O'Gallachar, O'Buidhil, or Boyle, Clan Dala, O'Hea, O'Maolmony, Mac Lonſechan, O'Mulligin, O'Brelan, O'Kearnachan, O'Dalachan, &c.

Fiacha, monarch of Ireland, in the decline of the third, and beginning of the fourth century, had a brother called Eochaid-Doimhlin. This Eochaidh had three ſons, famous in our hiſtory by the names of the three Collas. Whilſt Muireadhach, ſon to Fiacha, led an army into Munſter, the Collas avail themſelves of his

his abſence, attack their uncle, whoſe troops they de- A. C.
feat, and he himſelf is left on the plains among the dead. Hereupon the eldeſt Coſla ſucceeds, but the uſurper is defeated, and the brothers flee to Scotland. In time they are received into favour, and a body of men is given to them, with which they invade Ulſter, and conquer a large territory, which, from them, is called Oirgiall, comprehending the preſent countries of Lowth, Ardmagh, and Monaghan. Here their poſterity remained, and many of them yet retain a part of their ancient domains.

From Colla-Hnais, or the noble, are deſcended the preſent earl of Antrim, and all the Mac Donnels of Scotland and Ireland, the Mac Dougals or Doyles, the Mac Rories, lords of the Hebrides, Mac Cartan, O'Daire, O'Geran, Mac Soliv or Sally, Clan Cerin, &c.

From Colla-Mean, I find the O'Cearuibhils, or O'Carrols, ſometimes called kings of Oirgial, are deſcended, as alſo the Mac Sheekies, Clan Duncha, &c. From Colla-da-Crioch are ſprung the Mac Mahons, princes of Monaghan, Mac Guire, chief of Fermanagh, Mac Manus, O'Hanlon, O'Nolan, Mac Connel, Mac Cineth, or Mac Kenzie, O'Flanagan, O'Rudagan, O'Lorcan, O'Danbig, Mac Naghtin, Mac Cormoc, O'Davin, Mac Felan, &c. beſides the O'Kellies, O'Maddens, Mac Eagan, &c. of Conaught. O'Henrighty, O'Behellan, O'Coſgrive, O'Garvey, O'Lonagan, O'Coltrain, O'Hamby, and O'Morna, are reckoned up by O'Dugan as chiefs of Oirgial.

Of the Dal-Fiatachs of Ulſter I can give no account, and very little of the Dalriada.

From theſe, and many other families now extinct, are the ancient and (by the maternal line) *almoſt all the modern Iriſh, through the kingdom, deſcended.* United thus in blood, and having, in fact, but one common intereſt (the good of their country) to purſue, is it not aſtoniſhing that the

A. C. the leaſt diſunion ſhould ſubſiſt among them? What would become of Britain, at this day, were the remains of the ancient Britons, the Saxons, Danes, Normans, Flemings, and Dutch, to regard themſelves as diſtinct colonies, intereſted only in the proſperity of their particular ſepts? What would be the ſtate of France, Spain, Germany, and, in ſhort, of the whole continent of Europe, were they to act on principles ſo contracted, ſo impolitical, ſo ſubverſive of public good? To affirm that the Hiſtory of Ireland, from the time that Henry II. was proclaimed king of Leath-Mogha, to this day, is not a continuation of the paſt, would be as abſurd as to ſay, that the Hiſtory of England, ſince the Revolution, has no kind of relation to antecedent facts! I have laboured, with unremitting zeal, to lay before my countrymen the hiſtory of their anceſtors, from the moſt remote antiquity, to that period. I have neither exaggerated their virtues, nor gloſſed over their vices. The Iriſh, of modern days, have now an opportunity of renewing their acquaintance with their great—their long-neglected anceſtors—and I am perſuaded, that neither they, nor their country, will be the worſe for this information.

FINIS.

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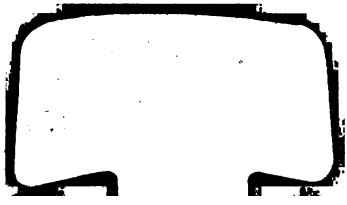
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